THE

METHOD

OF

TEACHING AND STUDYING

THE

BELLES LETTRES;

OR,

An INTRODUCTION to LANGUAGES, POETRY, RHETORIC, HISTORY, MORAL PHILOSOPHY, PHYSICS, &c.

WITH

REFLECTIONS on TASTE, and INSTRUCTIONS with regard to the ELOQUENCE of the PULPIT, the BAR, and the STAGE.

The whole illuſtrated with PASSAGES from the moſt famous POETS and ORATORS, ancient and modern, with CRITICAL REMARKS on them.

Deſigned more particularly for STUDENTS in the UNIVERSITIES.

By Mr. ROLLIN, *late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres.*

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BOOK

BOOK III.

OF RHETORIC.

THOUGH nature and genius are the principal foundations of eloquence, and ſometimes ſuffice alone for ſucceſs in it, we cannot however deny, but that precepts and art may be of great ſervice to an (*a*) orator, whether he uſes them as guides to ſupply him with certain rules for diſtinguiſhing the good from the bad, or for improving and bringing to perfection the advantages he received from nature.

(*b*) Theſe precepts, founded on the principles of good ſenſe and right reaſon, are only the judicious obſervations of learned men on the diſcourſes of the beſt orators, which were afterwards reduced into form, and united under certain heads; whence it was ſaid, that eloquence was not the offspring of art, but art of eloquence.

From hence it is eaſy to conceive, that rhetoric without the ſtudy of good authors is lifeleſs and barren, and that (*c*) examples in this, as in all other things, are infinitely more efficacious than precepts; and indeed the rhetorician ſeems only to point out the path

(*a*) Ego in his præceptis hanc vim et hanc utilitatem eſſe arbitror, non ut ad reperiendum quid dicamus arte ducamur, ſed ut ea quæ natura, quæ ſtudio, quæ exercitatione conſequimur, aut recta eſſe confidamus, aut prava intelligamus; cum, quo referenda ſint, didicerimus. Cic. de orat. n. 312.

(*b*) Ego hanc vim intelligo eſſe in præceptis, omnibus non ut ea ſecuti oratores eloquentiæ laudem ſint adepti: ſed, quæ ſua ſponte homines eloquentes facerent, ea quoſdam obſervaſſe, atque id egiſſe, Sic eſſe non eloquentiam ex artificio, ſed artificium ex eloquentia natum. 1. de orat. n. 146.

(*c*) In omnibus fere minus valent præcepta quam experimenta. Quint. l. 2. c. 5.

at a-diſtance which youth are to follow; whilſt the orator takes them by the hand, and leads them into it.

As the end then propoſed in the claſs of rhetoric, is to teach them to apply the rules, and imitate the models ſet before them; all the care of maſters with regard to eloquence is reduced to theſe three heads; precepts, the ſtudying of authors, and compoſition.

Quintilian tells us, the ſecond of theſe articles was entirely neglected in his time; and that the rhetoricians beſtowed all their ſtudy on the other two. To ſay nothing here of the ſpecies of compoſition then in vogue, called Declamation, and which was one of the principal cauſes of the corruption of eloquence; they entered into a long train of precepts, and into knotty, and very often frivolous queſtions; which is the reaſon, that even Quintilian's rhetoric, though ſo excellent in other reſpects, appears vaſtly tedious in ſeveral places: he had too juſt a taſte, not to obſerve, that the reading of authors is one of the moſt eſſential parts of rhetoric, and moſt capable of forming the minds of youth. (*d*) Yet, however good his inclination might be, it was impoſſible for him to ſtem the torrent; and he was obliged, in ſpite of all his endeavours, to conform in public, to a cuſtom that prevailed univerſally; but followed, in private, that method which he judged the beſt.

This method is now generally received in the univerſity of Paris, and did not gain ground there but by degrees. I ſhall dwell chiefly on that part, which relates to the ſtudy and explanation of authors, after having treated tranſiently of the other two, which it may be ſaid to include in ſome meaſure.

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(*d*) Cæterum, ſentientibus jam tum optima, duæ res impedimento fuerunt: quod et longa conſuetudo aliter docendi fecerat legem, &c. Quint. l. 2. c. 5.

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CHAP. I.

Of the PRECEPTS *of* RHETORIC.

THE beſt way to learn rhetoric, would be to imbibe it at the fountain head, I mean from Ariſtotle, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, Longinus, Cicero and Quintilian. But ſince the reading of theſe authors, eſpecially the Greek, is much above the capacity of the ſcholars uſually admitted into the claſs of rhetoric, the profeſſors may explain by word of mouth, the ſolid principles that occur in thoſe great maſters of eloquence, which they ought to have made their peculiar ſtudy; and content themſelves with pointing out to their pupils, the moſt beautiful paſſages in Cicero and Quintilian, where the topics to be expounded are diſcuſſed; for methinks it would be a ſhame to leave the claſs of rhetoric, without having ſome idea and knowledge of thoſe authors, who have treated the art with ſo much ſucceſs.

What is moſt important in rhetoric does not conſiſt ſo much in the precepts, as in the reflections that attend them, and ſhew their uſe. A man may know the number of the ſeveral parts of an oration, that of the tropes and figures, and the definitions very exactly, and yet be never the better qualified for compoſition. Theſe things are indeed uſeful and even neceſſary to a certain degree, but do not ſuffice; being only, as it were, the body or ſhell of rhetoric. If the obſervations which give a reaſon for, and ſhew the effect of every precept, are not added, 'tis a body without a ſoul; but ſome examples will explain my meaning.

One rule of the exordium is, that the orator ſhould ſpeak very modeſtly of himſelf, in order to conciliate the judges in his favour; that he ſhould not diſplay his eloquence too much, and, if poſſible, even render that of his opponent ſuſpected. This is a good and very neceſſary precept; but Quintilian's reflections upon it

are much more valuable. " (*e*) It is natural for us, ſays " he, to be prejudiced in favour of the weakeſt, and a " religious judge hears very willingly a pleader or ad- " vocate, when he thinks him incapable of impoſing " upon his juſtice, and that he has no reaſon to diſtruſt " him. Thence, ſays he, proceeded the care of the " ancients, to conceal their eloquence; in which they " differ very widely from the orators of our age, who " uſe their utmoſt efforts to diſplay theirs."

He elſewhere gives another ſtill more laudable reaſon, deduced from nature itſelf, and founded on the knowledge of the human heart. " (*f*) It is never commend- " able, ſays he, in any man to boaſt of himſelf; but an " orator, of all people, appears with the worſt grace, " when his eloquence makes him vain. Such a conduct " raiſes contempt and ſometimes hatred in the auditors; " for there is ſomething naturally great, noble and ſub- " lime in the heart of man, which cannot bear a ſupe- " rior. For this reaſon we are inclined to raiſe up thoſe " who are caſt down, or humble themſelves, becauſe it " gives us an air of ſuperiority; and as that proſtrate " condition leaves no room for jealouſy, ſentiments of " candour and humanity naturally take place. On the " contrary, he who ſets too high a value upon himſelf, " ſhocks our pride, becauſe we think he leſſens and con- " temns us; and ſeems leſs intent upon magnifying him- " ſelf, than upon making others his inferiors."

Brevity

(*e*) In his quoque commendatio tacita, ſi nos infirmos et impares ingeniis contra agentium dixerimus —Eſt enim naturalis favor pro laborantibus; et judex religioſus libentiſſime patronum audit, quem juſtitiæ ſuæ minime timet. Inde illa veterum circa occultandam eloquentiam ſimulatio, multum ab hac noſtrorum temporum jactatione diverſa. Quintil. l. 4. c. 1.

(*f*) Omnis ſui vitioſa jactatio eſt, eloquentiæ tamen in oratore præcipue; affertque audientibus non faſtidium modo, ſed plerumque etiam odium. Habet enim mens noſtra ſublime quiddam, et erectum, et impatiens ſuperioris. Ideoque abjectos, aut ſummittentes ſe, libenter allevamus, quia hoc facere tanquam [illegible] videmur; et quoties diſceſſit æmulatio, ſuccedit humanitas [illegible] ſupra modum extollit, premere ac deſpicere creditur; nec [illegible] quam minores cæteros facere. Quintil. l. 11. c. 1.

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Brevity is generally laid down as one of the neceſſary qualities of narration, and is made to conſiſt in ſaying no more than is neceſſary. If this precept be not explained, it will inform the mind but very little, and may occaſion miſtakes; but what Quintilian adds, ſets it in the cleareſt light. "(*g*) Although I obſerved that brevity "conſiſts in ſaying no more than what is neceſſary, I "don't however pretend, that the orator ſhould confine "himſelf to the bare ſtating the fact; for though the "narration ſhould be ſhort, it ſhould not want its "graces: without which it would be void of art, and "diſguſting. For pleaſure deceives and amuſes, and "whatever gives delight ſeems of ſhort duration "as a ſmooth and pleaſant road, though of a con-"ſiderable length, fatigues leſs than one that is ſhort, "but ſteep or diſagreeable."

"(*b*) It is plain, ſuch reflections may be of great ſervice "towards giving us a juſt taſte of eloquence, and may "even form and improve the ſtile; but jejune and over "refined precepts only cramp the genius, and deprive "orations of their nobler parts, their vigour and beauty."

M. Herſan, formerly profeſſor in the college *du Pleſſis*, under whom I was ſo happy as to ſtudy three years, and who contributed in forming ſome of the beſt maſters that have ſince appeared in the univerſity, compoſed, on the plan here mentioned, an excellent ſyſtem of rhetoric, into which he introduced all the fineſt thoughts of the ancients; but unhappily, 'twould take up too much time to dictate it; and beſides, I own I am of opinion, that it

(*g*) Quantum opus eſt autem, non ita ſolum accipi volo, quantum ad judicandum ſufficit: quia non inornata debet eſſe brevitas, alioqui ſit indocta. Nam et fallit voluptas, et minus longa quæ delectant videntur; ut amœnum ac mollè iter, etiamſi eſt ſpatii amplioris, minus fatigat quam durum arduumque compendium. Quintil. l. 5. c. 2.

(*b*) His omnibus admiſcebitur dicendi ratio . . . quæ alere facundiam, vires augere eloquentiæ poſſit. Nam plerumque nudæ illæ artes, nimia ſubtilitatis affectione frangunt, atque concidunt quicquid eſt in oratione generoſius, et omnem ſuccum ingenie bibunt, et oſſa detegunt. Quintil. proœm. l. 1.

it would be better to read the beautiful paſſages of the ancient rhetoricians in the authors themſelves.

Methinks then, for the ſake of time, which is very precious in ſtudy, it were to be wiſhed, that a ſhort, plain, and clear printed ſyſtem of rhetoric was uſed in the univerſity; wherein true definitions ſhould be given; ſome reflections and examples added to the precepts; and the beautiful paſſages on each topic in Cicero, Quintilian, and even Longinus, (ſince we now have ſo good a tranſlation of him) pointed out. Part of thoſe paſſages might be read to ſcholars in the claſs of rhetoric, and they themſelves might conſult the reſt.

I am very ſenſible, 'tis difficult, if not impoſſible, to do all this to advantage in the ſpace of a year; and the beſt advice that can be given to parents, who would have their children make a good progreſs in this claſs, which may be of infinite advantage to them during the remainder of their lives, whatever profeſſion they may follow, is to let them continue two years in it. For what probability is there, that ſcholars, next to children, who have little judgment, are not much verſed in the Latin tongue, and probably, not very ſtudious, ſhould imbibe the precepts of ſo important an art in ſo ſhort a time?

The Romans had a far different idea of this ſtudy. As eloquence, among them, opened the way to all grandeur, ſuch young people, as had care taken of their education, applied themſelves ſeriouſly to it, and ſpent ſeveral years under maſters of rhetoric, as appears from Quintilian. But even in thoſe days, they ſometimes neglected that excellent diſcipline, of which one of the ancients complains; and ambitious fathers, ſolely intent upon promoting their children, hurried them to the bar, without giving them time to digeſt their ſtudies, as though it were as eaſy to give them abilities, as a lawyer's gown: whereas had they made them paſs through the ordinary degrees of literature, and allowed their judgment time to ripen, by a careful

careful ſtudy of authors; to imbibe a great number of juſt philoſophical principles, and to acquire correctneſs of ſtile; they would have enabled their ſons to ſupport all the weight and majeſty of eloquence, with dignity and advantage.

CHAP. II.

Of COMPOSITION.

IT is particularly in rhetoric, that young people endeavour to diſplay their genius by ſome compoſition of their own, and that the greateſt care is taken to form them in this ſtudy, which is not only the moſt difficult, but the moſt important, and, as it were, the end and ſcope of all the reſt. To ſucceed in it, they ought to have collected, from the good authors in the other claſſes through which they paſt, a great number of terms and phraſes of that tongue in which they propoſe to write; ſo that when an occaſion offers for expreſſing any thought in juſt and proper language, they may have recourſe to their memory, that, like a rich treaſury, may ſupply them with all the expreſſions they have occaſion to uſe.

ARTICLE I.

Of THEMES.

THE ſubjects or themes for compoſition are a kind of plan deſcribed by the maſter to his ſcholars, in order to point out what they are to ſay upon a ſubject given.

This plan may be laid down to the ſcholars either by word of mouth, by propoſing a ſubject to be immediately diſcuſſed, and aſſiſting them to invent, to range, and expreſs thoughts; or in writing, by dictating on ſome ſubject, the matter for compoſition, which muſt be digeſted, muſt ſupply thoughts, preſcribe

their

their order, and requires little more to be amplified and adorned.

The former of theſe methods is not ſo much practiſed as the other, but is no leſs uſeful; and I am perſuaded, that a little trial of it will evince, that nothing is better adapted to aſſiſt the invention of youth, than to make them from time to time compoſe after this method in the maſter's preſence; by interrogating them *viva voce*, and making them invent what may be ſaid on a ſubject. I ſhall give ſome examples of theſe plans for compoſition in the ſequel of this work.

It is natural to begin with the eaſieſt things, and ſuch as are beſt adapted to the capacities of youth, as fables, for inſtance; for which end it will be proper to make them read for ſome weeks, thoſe of Phædrus, which are a perfect model for that ſpecies of compoſition.

Some of la Fontaine's might be added, which will teach them to introduce more thoughts with their fables, than we find in thoſe of Phædrus, as Horace has done in that of the city and country mouſe.

Theſe fables are to be followed by ſhort narrations, which, at firſt, muſt be very ſimple, but afterwards have ſome ornament. They muſt likewiſe be followed by common places, and next by parallels, either between great men of different characters, whoſe hiſtory they have learnt; or different profeſſions, of which Cicero has left us an example in his oration for Murena, where he makes a compariſon between the art of war, and the profeſſion of the law: parallels may alſo be drawn between different actions; and the ſame great orator (*a*) compares the military virtues of Cæſar with his clemency. Theſe kinds of ſubjects naturally ſuggeſt a great variety of ideas.

Since ſpeeches and orations are the moſt difficult leſſons in rhetoric, 'tis proper to reſerve them for the laſt.

The

(*a*) In his oration for Marcellus.

The matter for compoſition given by the maſter, whether in Latin or the vulgar tongue, muſt be well ſtudied and laid down, for on this the ſucceſs of ſcholars principally depends. We muſt, as (*i*) Quintilian obſerves, remove all difficulties for them in the beginning, and give them themes proportionate to their capacities, which ſhould be almoſt done to their hands. After they have been thus exerciſed for ſome time, nothing will then remain, but to point out the path, as it were, to them; and give them a ſlight ſketch of what they are to ſay, in order to accuſtom them by degrees, to go alone and without aſſiſtance. It will afterwards be proper to leave them entirely to their own genius, leſt by being habituated to do nothing without help, they ſhould fall into an idle ſlothful diſpoſition, which may prevent their attempting to invent and digeſt of themſelves. (*k*) Something like this is obſervable in birds; whilſt their young ones are tender and weak, the parent brings them food, but when they gather more ſtrength, ſhe accuſtoms them to go out of the neſt, and teaches them to fly, by fluttering round them; and, at laſt, having made trial of their ſtrength, ſhe makes them take wing, and leaves them to themſelves.

Among the duties of a rhetoric profeſſor, the manner of correcting the compoſitions of ſcholars, is one of the moſt important, and not leſs difficult.

(*l*) Quintilian's reflections on this are extremely judicious, and may be very uſeful to maſters. They may learn from them particularly to avoid an eſſential defect in their profeſſion, which is more dangerous, as it proceeds from too much wit and delicacy; I mean the correcting the compoſitions of youth with too great ſeverity and exactneſs.

(*i*) Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 7

(*k*) Cui rei ſimile quiddam facientes aves cernimus; quæ teneris infirmiſque fœtibus cibos ore ſuo collatos partiuntur; at cum viſi ſunt adulti, paululum egredi nidis, et circumvolare ſedem illam præcedentes ipſæ docent: tum expertas vices libero cœlo ſuæque ipſorum fiduciæ permittunt. Quintil. l. 2. c. 7.

(*l*) Lib. 2. c. 4.

Quintilian had treated of two kinds of narration, the one dry and unadorned, the other too luxuriant, too florid and embelliſhed. (*m*) " Both, ſays he, are faulty ; " but the firſt eſpecially, as it denotes ſterility, which " is worſe than the other, proceeding from too fer- " tile a genius. For we muſt neither require nor " expect a perfect diſcourſe from a child ; but I ſhould " conceive great hopes of a fruitful genius, a genius " that can produce without aſſiſtance, and make noble " attempts, though it ſhould ſometimes take too great " liberties. I am not offended to meet with ſome ſu- " perfluities in the compoſitions of young people: I " would even have a maſter, like a good nurſe, full of " indulgence for his tender pupils, give them ſweet " nouriſhment, and permit them to feed, as on delici- " ous milk, on whatever is moſt gay and agreeable. " Let us indulge them a little in their rhetorical wan- " tonneſs, if I may be allowed the expreſſion ; let us " ſuffer them to take ſome bold ſteps, to ſtrike out, and " delight in their own inventions, though their pro- " ductions be neither correct nor juſt. It is eaſy to " correct too great a redundancy, but a barren genius " has no remedy.

" (*n*) Thoſe who have read Cicero, continues Quin- " tilian, know very well, that I only follow his opi- " nion

(*m*) Vitium utrumque : pejus tamen illud quod ex inopia, quam quod ex copia venit. Nam in pueris oratio perfecta nec exigi nec ſperari poteſt : melior autem eſt indoles læta generoſique conatus, et vel plura juſto concipiens interim ſpiritus. Nec unquam me in his diſcentis annis offendat, ſi quid ſuperfuerit. Quin ipſis doctoribus hoc eſſe curæ velim, ut teneras adhuc mentes more nutricum mollius alant, et ſatiari veluti quoam jucundioris diſciplinæ lacte patiantur.—Audeat hæc ætas plura, et veniat, et inventis gaudeat, ſint licet illa interim non ſatis ficca et ſe- era. Facile remedium eſt ubertatis : ſterilia nullo labore vincuntur. —Q. l. 2. c. 4.

(*n*) Quod me de his ætatibus ſentire nemo mirabitur, qui apud Ciceronem legerit : *Volo enim ſe efferat in adoleſcente fœcunditas.* Quapropter in primis evitandus, et in pueris præcipue, magiſter aridus, non minus quam teneris adhuc plantis ficcum et ſine humore ullo ſolum. Inde fiunt humiles

" nion in this place, which he explains thus in the ſe-
" cond book " de Oratore," " I would have a young
" man, *ſays he*, give his genius a full ſcope, and diſcover
" fertility." Frigidity in maſters is as dangerous, eſpe-
" cially for children, as a dry and a ſcorched ſoil for
" tender plants. A young man in their hands is al-
" ways groveling, and never has the courage to take
" noble flights, or attempt any thing above the common
" level. The want of fleſh, leanneſs, paſſes with them
" for health; and what they call judgment, is mere
" impotence. They fancy 'tis enough to have no
" faults; but even in that, they fall into a very great
" one, which is, not to have one excellency."

(*o*) I muſt likewiſe obſerve, that nothing checks and damps the genius of children, more than a maſter, who is over ſevere and too difficult to be pleaſed; for then they are dejected, deſpair of ſucceſs, and at laſt conceive an averſion for ſtudy; and, what is as prejudicial on theſe occaſions, while they are in perpetual fear, they dare not attempt even to do well.

(*p*) Let a maſter then take particular care to make himſelf agreeable to youth, eſpecially in their tender years, in order to ſoften, by his engaging behaviour, whatever may ſeem harſh in correcting; let him ſometimes applaud one paſſage, find another tolerably well; change this, and give his reaſons for it; amend that, by adding ſomething of his own; which is the method he ſhould follow.

" The

humiles ſtatim, et velut terram ſpectantes, qui nihil ſupra quotidianum ſermonem attollere audeant. Macies illis pro ſanitate, et judicii loco infirmitas eſt: et dum ſatis putant vitio carere, in idipſum incidunt vitium, quod virtutibus carent. Ibid.

(*o*) Ne illud quidem quod admoneamus indignum eſt, ingenia puerorum nimiâ interim emendationis ſeveritate deficere. Nam et deſperant, et dolent, et noviſſime oderunt: et, quod maxime nocet, dum omnia timent, nihil conantur. Ibid.

(*p*) Jucundus ergo tum maxime debet eſſe præceptor: ut, quæ alioqui naturâ ſunt aſpera, molli manu leniantur: laudare aliqua, ferre quædam, mutare etiam, reddita cur id fiat ratione; illuminare interpone-do aliquid ſui. Ibid.

(*q*) " The difference of age ought alſo to be conſi-
" dered, in the manner of correcting exerciſes, which
" ſhould be proportioned to the progreſs ſcholars have
" made. As to myſelf, when I ſometimes found their
" ſtile too florid, and their thoughts more bold than
" juſt, I uſed to tell them, it was very well for the pre-
" ſent, but that a time would come, when I ſhould not
" be ſo eaſy with them. This flattered their genius,
" and did not deceive their judgment."

I have nothing to add to theſe excellent reflections, except what Quintilian himſelf has ſaid in another place, where he treats of the duty and qualifications of a maſter. " [*r*] Let him not deny youth, ſays
" he, the praiſes they deſerve, neither would I have
" him to be too laviſh of them; for the former diſcou-
" rages, and the latter makes them too ſecure, which
" may be of dangerous conſequence. When he meets
" with any thing that requires correction, he ought not
" to treat his pupils with bitter or reproachful lan-
" guage; for nothing gives them ſo much averſion to
" learning, as the being continually reproved with a
" gloomy air, the ſeeming effect of hatred."

We ſee by this admirable paſſage, of which part only is copied, that the duty of a maſter in correcting the exerciſes of his pupils, does not conſiſt merely in cenſuring improper expreſſions and thoughts, but in explaining the reaſon of their being ſo, and in ſubſtituting others; that he muſt ſupply them immediately with ſuch phraſes and periods, as may exalt and

(*q*) Aliter autem alia ætas emendanda eſt, et pro modo virium exigendum et corrigendum opus. Solebam ego dicere pueris aliquid auſis licentius aut lætius, laudare illud me adhuc: venturum tempus quo idem non permitterem. Ita et ingenio gaudebant, et judicio non fallebantur. Ibid.

(*r*) In laudandis diſcipulorum dictionibus nec malignus, nec effuſus: quia res altera tædium laboris, altera ſecuritatem parit. In emendando quæ corrigenda erant, non acerbus, minimeque contumelioſus. Nam id quidem multos à propoſito ſtudendi fugat, quod quidam ſic objurgant, quaſi oderint. Quint. lib. 2. c. 1.

and adorn their exerciſes; which when he does not approve, he ſhould make them go over again. He ſhould dictate from time to time the ſubſtance of the corrections to be made; at leaſt ſome part of it, which may afterwards ſerve for models. Above all, he muſt take care not to diſcourage his pupils by too ſevere an air; but, on the contrary, animate and cheriſh them with hopes of ſucceſs, by moderate and ſeaſonable applauſe, and by all the methods than can excite emulation and a love of ſtudy in the minds of young people.

This emulation is one of the great advantages of univerſity or ſchool education; and Quintilian does not fail to lay it down as a moſt powerful reaſon for preferring a public to a private education.

(*s*) "A child, ſays he, can learn nothing at home, "except what he is taught; but at ſchools, he learns "what is taught others. He will daily ſee his maſter "approving one thing, correcting another, blaming the "idleneſs of this boy, applauding the diligence of that. "Every thing will be of uſe to him. The love of "fame will inſpire him with emulation: he will be "aſhamed to be excelled by his equals, and even pant "to ſurpaſs the moſt forward. This animates youth; "and though ambition is a vice, we however may draw "ſome good from it, and make it uſeful."

He afterwards ſpeaks of the cuſtom of giving places in the claſs once a month; and though this ſeems inconſiderable and common, he does not fail to treat it with his uſual wit and ſprightlineſs. (*t*) "Regular "exami-

(*s*) Adde quod domi ea ſola diſcere poteſt, quæ ipſi præcipientur: in ſchola, etiam quæ aliis. Audiet multa quotidie probari, multa corrigi: proderit alicujus objurgata deſidia, proderit laudata induſtria: excitabitur laude æmulatio: turpe ducet cedere pari, pulchrum ſuperaſſe majores. Accendunt omnia hæc animos; et licet ipſa vitium ſit ambitio, frequenter tamen cauſa virtutum eſt. Quintil. l. 1. c. 3.

(*t*) Hujus rei judicia præbebantur. Ea nobis ingens palmæ contentio. Ducere vero claſſem multo pulcherrimum. Nec de hoc ſemel decretum erat: triceſimus dies reddebat victo certaminis poteſtatem. Ita

" examinations were appointed, ſays he, for judging of " the progreſs the ſcholars had made in their ſtudies; " and what endeavours did we not uſe to gain the victo- " ry? But to be the firſt in the claſs, and at the head " of the reſt, was the chief object of our ambition. " However, the deciſion in this caſe was not final; for " at a month's end, he who was vanquiſhed, was allow- " ed to revive the diſpute, which thereby became " warmer and more obſtinate; for the one omitted no- " thing to keep the advantage he had gained, and the " other, prompted by ſhame and grief, found ſufficient " force to ſurmount his diſgrace. I am very ſure, this " method gave us more courage, and inſpired us with " a greater deſire to learn, than the exhortations of " our maſters, the vigilance of our inſpectors, or the " earneſt wiſhes of our parents."

If I might be allowed to join my reflections and practice with thoſe of ſo great a maſter as Quintilian, I would add another cuſtom (of great ſervice to me) to that of diſtributing places regularly once a month, which ought never to be neglected, not even in the higher claſſes. This was, to propoſe ſome prizes, but without fixing on any particular day, for one or two of the ſcholars who had ſucceeded beſt in a common exerciſe. Sometimes they were obliged to conquer twice to gain the prize. To raiſe ſome emulation likewiſe in thoſe of indifferent capacities, I ſeparated them from ſuch as had the beſt, and propoſed prizes alſo for them. By this method I kept the whole claſs in continual exerciſe. All their compoſitions were as much laboured as thoſe which were made for places; and the ſcholars were like ſoldiers who every moment expect the ſignal of battle, and therefore held themſelves continually in readineſs.

ARTICLE

Ita nec ſuperior ſucceſſu curam demittebat; et dolor victum ad depellendam ignominiam concitabat. Id nobis acriores ad ſtudia diſcendi faces ſubdidiſſe, quam exhortationes docentium, pædagogorum cuſtodiam, vota parentum, quantum animi mei conjectura colligere poſſum, contenderim. Ibid.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

An ESSAY *on the Method of forming youth for Compoſition, either by Word of Mouth, or by Writing.*

THE eaſieſt method of teaching youth the art of compoſing, is to exerciſe them, firſt, by word of mouth in making themes upon ſubjects treated of by good Latin or French authors. As the maſter muſt be ſuppoſed to have carefully peruſed the place he has choſen; to have ſtudied the order, diſpoſition, proofs, thoughts, turns and expreſſions, he may very eaſily, (with the aſſiſtance of a few hints) enable them to find readily a part of what they are to ſay; and even, in ſome meaſure, the manner of turning every thought. After they have taken ſome pains about each part, the maſter ſhould read the paſſage in the author, and endeavour to diſplay all the art and beauties of it. When they have been exerciſed for ſome time in this manner, ſome ſubjects ſhould be given them to be compoſed in writing, which, if poſſible, ſhould be extracted from the beſt authors, and ſtudied more deliberately at home.

I ſhall propoſe ſome examples in both kinds: but ſhall cite here only one paſſage from a Roman author, becauſe the reader will find ſeveral others in the ſequel. The relation of Canius's adventure, cited in number VI. of the firſt article, where the plain or ſimple kind is treated; and the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, given in article 11. of §. 11. which relates to the thoughts, may ſerve as examples for narrations.

I. ELOGIUM *of* CÆSAR's *Clemency.*

Marcellus declared himſelf an enemy to Cæſar upon all occaſions, and that in a very injurious and open manner. However, when Cæſar returned to Rome,

Rome, he was very willing to pardon Marcellus, at the ſenate's requeſt, and to receive him into favour.

Suppoſe this conduct were to be extolled: For that end it is natural enough to draw a compariſon between the action and Cæſar's victories, and to give the former the preference. This then ſhall ſtand as the propoſition, to which all this common place will refer.

CÆSAR'S *Clemency in pardoning* MARCELLUS, *is much more glorious than all his Victories.*

But this propoſition muſt be handled with great art and delicacy. The pupils ſhould be aſked, if there be no reaſon to fear that this compariſon, which ſeemingly tends to leſſen the ſplendor of Cæſar's victories, will be offenſive to a conqueror, who is commonly jealous of that kind of glory. To prevent ſo ill an effect, the ſcholars muſt be told, they ſhould begin by making a great encomium on his military actions, which Cicero has done in a wonderful manner. This rule in rhetoric ſhall be explained hereafter under the title of *Oratorial precautions.*

(*u*) " Nullius (*x*) tantum eſt flumen ingenii, nulla di-
" cendi aut ſcribendi tanta vis tantaque copia, quæ, non
" dicam exornare, ſed enarrare, C. Cæſar, res tuas geſtas
" poſſit:

(*u*) Pro Marcel. n. 4. 10.

(*x*) Never, Cæſar, will eloquence, with all its pomp and abundance, never will the greateſt genius be able to expreſs the grandeur of your exploits, much leſs to add the leaſt luſtre to them, by the manner of relating them. I dare however affirm, and you will permit me to ſay it in your preſence, that among ſo many illuſtrious actions, none is more glorious to you, than that whereof we are now witneſſes. I often reflect, and find a real pleaſure in publiſhing, that the noble actions of our moſt celebrated generals, thoſe of the moſt renowned princes, or of the moſt warlike nations, cannot be compared with yours; whether we conſider the greatneſs of wars, the multitude of battles, the different countries, the rapidity of conqueſts, or the diverſity of enterprizes. By your victories, you have ſubdued a great number of regions, vaſtly diſtant from one another, and theſe you conquered as expeditiouſly as another would travel through them. And I ſhould be void of all ſenſe not to own, that ſuch exploits are almoſt ſuperior to any ideas we can form to ourſelves of them. They have, however, ſomething ſtill greater and more aſtoniſhing.

" poſſit; tamen hoc affirmo, et hoc pace dicam tua,
" nullam in his eſſe laudem ampliorem, quam eam, quam
" hodierno die conſecutus es. Soleo ſæpe ante oculos po-
" nere, idque libenter crebris uſurpare ſermonibus, om-
" nes noſtrorum imperatorum, omnes exterarum genti-
" um potentiſſimorumque populorum, omnes clariſſi-
" morum regum res geſtas, cum tuis nec contentionum
" magnitudine, nec numero prœliorum, nec varietate
" regionum, nec celeritate conficiendi, nec diſſimilitudi-
" ne bellorum poſſe conferri: nec vero diſjunctiſſimas
" terras citius cujuſquam paſſibus potuiſſe peragrari,
" quam tuis, non dicam curſibus, ſed victoriis illuſtratæ
" ſunt. (*alias*, luſtratæ ſunt.) Quæ quidem ego niſi
" ita magna eſſe fatear, ut ea vix cujuſquam mens aut
" cogitatio capere poſſit, amens ſim: ſed tamen ſunt
" alia majora."

After taking this precaution, he proceeds to compare the military actions of Cæſar with his clemency, in reinſtating Marcellus; and this kind of clemency is preferred to his exploits for three reaſons, which may eaſily occur to young people, at leaſt the two firſt.

I Reason. A general cannot aſcribe all the glory of a victory ſolely to himſelf; whereas that of Cæſar's clemency is perſonal and entirely his own. This is the ſimple propoſition; and it is the buſineſs of eloquence to enlarge upon, to diſplay, and place it in the ſtrongeſt light. Tutors direct young perſons by proper queſtions, to find of themſelves ſeveral circumſtances, which ſhew a general has no more than a ſhare of the glory ariſing from victories; and add, 'tis not ſo with regard to that which Cæſar acquired by pardoning Marcellus.

(*x*) " Nam bellicas laudes ſolent quidam extenuare ver-
" bis, eaſque detrahere ducibus, communicare cum mi-
" litibus,

(*x*) For as to military actions, ſome pretend to leſſen their luſtre, by aſſerting, that the private ſoldier ſhares the glory with his general, who, for that reaſon, cannot appropriate the whole to himſelf. And indeed, the valour of the troops, the advantage of commodious poſts and encampments, the aſſiſtance of allies, naval forces, and ſeaſonable convoys, con-

" litibus, ne propriæ ſint imperatorum. Et certe in " armis militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia " ſociorum, claſſes, commeatus, multum juvant. Maxi- " mam vero partem quaſi ſuo jure fortuna ſibi vindicat, " et quidquid eſt proſpere geſtum, id pene omne ducit " ſuum."

(y) " At vero hujus gloriæ, C. Cæſar, quam es paulo " ante adeptus, ſocium habes neminem. Totum hoc, " quantumcumque eſt, quod certe maximum eſt, totum " eſt, inquam, tuum. Nihil ſibi ex iſta laude centurio, " nihil præfectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma decerpit. " Quin etiam illa ipſa rerum humanarum domina fortu- " na, in iſtius ſe ſocietatem gloriæ non offert. Tibi " cedit: tuam eſſe totam et propriam fatetur. Nun- " quam enim temeritas cum ſapientia commiſcetur, nec " ad conſilium caſus admittitur."

II. REASON. 'Tis eaſier to conquer an enemy than to ſurmount one's paſſions

(z) " Domuiſti gentes immanitate barbaras, multitu- " dine innumerabiles, locis infinitas, omni copiarum " genere abundantes: ſed tamen ea vicisti quæ et na- " turam et conditionem ut vinci poſſent habebant. Nulla

contribute very much to victory. But fortune, above all, thinks ſhe has a right to the greateſt ſhare of it; and looks upon herſelf as almoſt the ſole cauſe of ſucceſs.

(y) But in this caſe, Cæſar, you have no companion, no competitor to diſpute glory with you. How bright, how auguſt ſoever it be [and nothing can be more ſo] 'tis all your own. Neither the ſoldier nor the officer, the infantry or cavalry, have any pretenſions to it. Fortune herſelf, that haughty diſpoſer of human events, cannot rob you of the leaſt part of that honour; ſhe yields it entirely to you, and acknowledges it wholly yours: for temerity and chance are never found where wiſdom and prudence preſide.

[z] You have ſubdued innumerable nations with their cities and fortreſſes, terrible from their ferocity, and provided with every thing neceſſary for defence. But then, you conquered only what was adapted by nature and condition to be conquered. For nothing is ſo powerful or formidable, but may be overcome by ſuperior force. But to overcome one's ſelf, to ſtifle reſentment, to temper victory, to raiſe a diſcomfited enemy, an enemy conſiderable by his birth, his capacity and courage; and not only to raiſe him from a dejected ſtate, but promote him to greater honours and dignities than he poſſeſſed before; he, I ſay, who does this, is not to be compared with the greateſt of mankind, but, in my opinion, is moſt like the immortal gods.

" Nulla eſt enim tanta vis, tanta copia, quæ non ferro " ac viribus debilitari frangique poſſit. Verum ani- " mum vincere, iracundiam cohibere; victoriam tem- " perare, adverſarium nobilitate, ingenio, virtute præ- " ſtantem, non modo extollere jacentem, ſed etiam " amplificare ejus priſtinam dignitatem: hæc qui faciat, " non ego eum cum ſummis viris comparo, ſed ſimilli- " mum Deo judico."

III. REASON. There is ſomething tumultuous in battles, the bare relation of which occaſions a kind of like diſorder in the ſoul; whereas acts of beneficence and clemency ſooth the mind agreeably, and gain the affections of all who hear them related.

(*a*) " Itaque, C. Cæſar, bellicæ tuæ laudes, cele- " brabuntur illæ quidem non ſolum noſtris, ſed pene " omnium gentium literis atque linguis; neque ulla " unquam ætas de tuis laudibus conticeſcet: ſed tamen " ejuſmodi res, etiam dum audiuntur aut dum legun- " tur, obſtrepi clamore militum videntur et tubarum " ſono. At vero cum aliquid clementer, manſuete, " juſte, moderate, ſapienter factum, in iracundia præ- " ſertim quæ eſt inimica conſilio, et in victoria quæ " natura inſolens et ſuperba eſt, aut audimus aut legi- " mus: quo ſtudio incendimur, non modo in geſtis " rebus, ſed etiam in fictis, ut eos ſæpe, quos nun- " quam vidimus, diligamus?"

(*b*) " Te vero, quem præſentem intuemur, cujus " mentem

(*a*) Your conqueſts, Cæſar, will indeed be read in our annals, and thoſe of almoſt all nations; nor will they be forgot by the lateſt poſterity. But when we read or hear relations of wars and battles, it ſo happens, I know not how, that the admiration they excite, is in ſome meaſure interrupted by the tumultuous cries of ſoldiers, and the clangour of trumpets. On the contrary, the recital of an action, where clemency, lenity, juſtice, moderation, and wiſdom, are conſpicuous, eſpecially if it be performed in anger, ever averſe to reflection, and in the midſt of victory, which is naturally haughty and inſolent; the relation, I ſay, of an action like this, even in feigned hiſtory, inſpires ſuch kind, ſuch lively ſentiments of benevolence and eſteem for the authors, that we cannot avoid loving them, though we have not the leaſt knowledge of their perſons.

(*b*) But you, Cæſar, whom we have the happineſs to ſee; you whoſe heart,

" mentem ſenſuſque nos cernimus, ut, quicquid, belli
" fortuna reliquum reipublicæ fecerit, id eſſe ſalvum
" velis, quibus laudibus efferemus? quibus ſtudiis pro-
" ſequemur? qua benevolentia complectemur? Parietes
" medius fidius, C. Cæſar, ut mihi videtur, hujus
" curiæ tibi gratias agere geſtiunt, quod brevi tem-
" pore futura ſit illa auctoritas in his majorum et ſuis
" ſedibus."

A Subject in Writing for a FRENCH THEME.

The theme is to diſplay the religion and piety of Marſhal Turenne, even in the midſt of battles and victories.

The orator muſt begin with a common place, to repreſent how difficult it is for a general, at the head of a great army, neither to be elate with pride, nor to conſider himſelf infinitely ſuperior to the reſt of mankind. Even the aſpect of war, the noiſe of arms, the cries of ſoldiers, &c. conſpire to make him forget what he himſelf, and what God is. It was on ſuch occaſions Salmoneus, Antiochus and Pharaoh, had the preſumption and impiety to think themſelves gods; but it muſt be confeſſed, that religion and humility never appear more illuſtrious, than when they render a man ſubmiſſive and obedient to God in ſuch high fortunes.

It was on ſuch occaſions that M. Turenne gave the greateſt proofs of his piety: he was often ſeen to withdraw into woods, and in the midſt of the rain and dirt, proſtrate himſelf before God. He ordered prayers to be ſaid in the camp every day, at which he aſſiſted in perſon with ſingular devotion.

Even in the heat of battle, when ſucceſs appeared infallible, and news was brought him of it from all quarters;

heart, whoſe very ſoul we know; you who have no deſigns but ſuch as tend to preſerve the commonwealth, as much of it as has eſcaped the rage of war: What praiſes ſhall we pay you? by what demonſtration of zeal and reſpect ſhall we profeſs our acknowledgment? Yes, Cæſar, all things here are ſenſible of this act of generoſity; even theſe walls ſeem to expreſs their joy for the deſign you have of reſtoring them to their ancient ſplendor, and the ſenate to its former authority.

quarters; he uſed to ſuppreſs the joy of the officers, by ſaying, "If God does not ſupport us, and finiſh "his work, we may ſtill be defeated."

When this theme is read a ſecond time to ſcholars, they muſt be told which parts of it ought to be enlarged upon; and ſome hints muſt be given for aſſiſting them to find thoughts.

The foregoing Subject as treated by M. MASCARON, *in the funeral Oration of* M. TURENNE.

"Do not imagine, Sirs, that our hero loſt theſe religious ſentiments, at the head of armies, and in the midſt of victories. Certainly, if there's any conjuncture in which the ſoul, full of itſelf, is in danger of forgetting God, it is in thoſe illuſtrious ſtations where a man becomes as a god to others, by the wiſdom of his conduct, the greatneſs of his courage, the ſtrength of his arm, and the number of his ſoldiers; and being wholly inſpired with glory, inſpires all beſides with love, admiration, or terror. Even the externals of war, the ſound of trumpets, the glitter of arms, the order of the troops, the ſilence of the ſoldiers, their ardor in fight; the beginning, progreſs, and end of the victory; the different cries of the conquered and the conquerors; all theſe aſſail the ſoul on different ſides, which deprived of all wiſdom and moderation, knows neither God, nor itſelf. It is then the impious Salmoneus preſumes to imitate the thunder of God; and to anſwer the thunderbolts of heaven with thoſe of the earth. It was then the ſacrilegious Antiochus worſhipped nothing but his own ſtrength and courage; and the inſolent Pharaoh, ſwoln with the pride of his power, cried out, I am my own maker. But do religion and humility ever appear more majeſtic, than when they keep the heart of man, though in ſo exalted a point of glory, in that ſubmiſſion and dependence which the creature ought to obſerve with regard to his God?

"M. Tu-

" M. Turenne was never more ſenſible that there " was a God over his head, than on thoſe extraordi- " nary occaſions, when others generally forget their " Creator. It was then his prayers were moſt fervent. " We have ſeen him retiring into woods, where in the " midſt of rain, with his knees in the dirt, he adored " that God in this humble poſture, before whom le- " gions of angels tremble, and proſtrate themſelves. " The Iſraelites, to ſecure themſelves of victory, or- " dered the ark of the covenant to be brought into their " camp; and M. Turenne did not believe this could be " ſafe, if not fortified daily by the oblation of the di- " vine victim, who triumphed over all the powers of " hell. He aſſiſted at it with a devotion and modeſty " capable of inſpiring awe in thoſe obdurate ſouls, on " whom the ſight of the moſt tremendous myſteries " makes no impreſſion.

" Even in the progreſs of victory itſelf, and in thoſe " moments of ſelf-love, when a general ſees fortune " declare in his favour; his piety was watchful, to " prevent his giving the jealous God the leaſt offence, " by too haſty an aſſurance of conquering. Though " the cries of victory echoed round him; though the " officers flattered themſelves, and him alſo, with aſ- " ſurance of ſucceſs; he ſtill checked all the extreme " emotions of joy, in which human pride has ſo great " a ſhare, by theſe words, highly worthy of his piety; " *If God does not ſupport us, and accompliſh his work,* " *we may ſtill be defeated.*"

The ſame Topic taken from M. FLECHIER.

The orator begins with ſaying, M. Turenne has ſhewn by his example, that piety is attended with ſucceſs; and that a warrior is invincible, when his faith is ſtrong. He referred the glory of his victories to God alone, and placed his confidence in him only.

The

The orator then gives an inſtance of ſome military action. That great man attacked all the forces of Germany with a few troops. The battle was obſtinate and doubtful. At length the enemy began to retire. The French cry out, Victory is ſure. But M. Turenne ſays to them, "Hold, our fate is not in our own "power, and we ourſelves ſhall be vanquiſhed, if the "Lord does not aſſiſt us;" and ſo turning his eyes to heaven, he waits for the victory from God alone.

Here the orator adds a brief common place, to ſhew how hard it is to be victorious, and humble at the ſame time. Two thoughts, which might be variouſly turned, and repreſented in different lights, form this common place. It is uſual for a conqueror to aſcribe the victory to himſelf and to look upon himſelf as the author of it; and though he returns God public thanks for it, it is however to be feared, he ſecretly reſerves to himſelf ſome ſhare of the glory which is due to God alone. M. Turenne did not act in that manner. When he marches, when he defends a place, when he is intrenched, when he fights, when he triumphs, he expects all from, and refers every thing to, God. Each part muſt have a peculiar thought.

"M. Turenne has ſhewn, that courage is of more "exalted force, when ſupported by religious principles; "that there is a pious magnanimity which induces "ſucceſs in ſpite of dangers and obſtacles; and that a "warrior, whoſe ſoul is inſpired with faith, and lifts "up pure hands to the God of battles who directs them, "is invincible.

"As M. Turenne owes all his glory to God, ſo he "refers it all to him, and has no other confidence, "but that which is founded in the name of the Lord. "(*c*) Why cannot I here relate one of thoſe important "actions, in which he attacked all the forces of Ger-"many with a few troops! he marches three days, "paſſes three rivers, comes up with the enemy, fights "them.

(*c*) Battle of Eintzen.

" them. Numbers on one ſide, and valour on the o-
" ther, hold fortune long in ſuſpence. At laſt cou-
" rage repels the multitude; the enemy are confuſed
" and begin to retire. The cry of victory is heard.
" The general then ſuſpends all the emotions which
" the heat of battles excites, and ſays with a ſevere
" tone; *Hold, our fate is not in our own hands, and we*
" *ourſelves ſhall be defeated, if the Lord does not aſſiſt*
" *us.* At theſe words, he turns his eyes towards hea-
" ven, whence he receives aſſiſtance: and continuing
" to give his orders, waits ſubmiſſively, between hope
" and fear, the deciſions of heaven.

" How difficult is it, to be victorious and humble
" at the ſame time! The ſucceſſes of war leave, I know
" not what ſenſible pleaſure, in the ſoul, which fills
" and poſſeſſes it entirely. We aſcribe to ourſelves a
" ſuperiority of power and ſtrength: we crown our-
" ſelves with our own hands: we form a ſecret triumph
" within ourſelves: we look upon thoſe laurels which
" are gathered with labour and pains, and are often be-
" dewed with our blood, as our property; and even
" when we give God ſolemn thanks, and hang up in
" churches the torn and bloody colours of the enemy;
" what danger is there that vanity may ſuppreſs ſome
" part of the acknowledgement, that we mingle the
" applauſes we imagine our own due, with the vows
" we make to the Lord; and reſerve to ourſelves ſome
" ſmall portion of the incenſe we are going to burn
" upon his altars!

" It was on theſe occaſions, that M. Turenne, di-
" veſting himſelf of all his pretenſions, aſcribed all the
" glory to him alone to whom it rightfully belongs.
" If he marches, he acknowledges it is God that con-
" ducts and guides him. If he defends ſtrong holds,
" he is ſenſible the enemy will diſpoſſeſs him of them,
" if God is not on his ſide. If he is intrenched, he
" thinks God makes a rampart to ſecure him from
" all inſults. If he fights, he knows from whence

" he

" he derives all his ſtrength; and if he triumphs, he " thinks he ſees an inviſible hand crowning him from " heaven."

I ſhall here ſubjoin ſome paſſages extracted from the beſt authors, which ſeem very proper to form the taſte of youth, both for ſtudy and compoſition. What generally gives the greateſt beaty to diſcourſes of the demonſtrative kind, are deſcriptions, parallels, and common places. In order to know all their art and delicacy, we have nothing to do but to diveſt them of all ornaments, and expreſs them in a common and ordinary manner; 'tis that I call the reducing of things to a ſimple propoſition. I ſhall endeavour to give examples of this in each kind.

DESCRIPTIONS.

1. *The retired life of M. de Lamoignon in the country, during the vacations.*

A ſimple propoſition. I wiſh I could repreſent him to you, when he went to paſs the vacation at Baſville, after all his labours and fatigues in the court of judicature. You would then ſee him ſometimes employed in huſbandry, ſometimes meditating on the harangues he was to make at the opening of the court, ſometimes reconciling the differences of the peaſants, in one of the alleys of his garden.

(*d*) " Why cannot I repreſent him to you as he was, " when he went to lay aſide the burthen of his em- " ployment, and to enjoy a noble repoſe, in his re- " treat at Baſville, after a tedious fatigue, at a diſtance " from the noiſe of the town, and the hurry of buſi- " neſs? You would ſee him apply himſelf ſometimes " to the innocent amuſements of huſbandry, raiſing " his thoughts to the inviſible things of God, by the " viſible wonders of nature. Sometimes meditating " upon the eloquent and ſolid diſcourſes, which " taught and inſpired juſtice every year; in which

(*d*) The funeral oration of M. de Lamoignon by M. Flechier.

" he deſcribed himſelf, without deſign, by forming " the idea of a good man. Sometimes reconciling " differences which animoſity, jealouſy, or evil coun- " ſel occaſions among country people; better pleaſed, " and perhaps greater before God, when he eſtabliſhed " the repoſe of a poor family, at the bottom of a ſhady " walk, and upon a tribunal of turf, than when he diſ- " poſed of the moſt ſplendid fortunes on the ſupreme " ſeat of juſtice."

II. *The modeſty of M. Turenne. His private life.*

A ſimple propoſition. No perſon ever ſpoke more modeſtly of himſelf than M. Turenne. He related his moſt ſurpriſing victories, as if he had had no ſhare in them. At his return from the moſt glorious campaigns, he avoided praiſe, and was afraid of appearing in the king's preſence, for fear of applauſe. It was then, in a private ſtate, among a few friends, he exerciſed himſelf in the virtues of civil life. He conceals himſelf, and walks without attendance or equipage; but every one obſerves and admires him.

(*e*) " Who ever performed ſuch great exploits, and " who more reſerved in ſpeaking of them? When " he gained an advantage, he himſelf aſcribed it to " the enemy's overſight, and not to his own abilities. " When he gave an account of a battle, he forgot no- " thing, but its being gained by his own conduct. If " he related any of thoſe actions which had rendered " him ſo famous, one would have concluded, he had " only been a bare ſpectator, and might doubt whe- " ther he himſelf or fame were miſtaken. When he " returned from thoſe glorious campaigns, which im- " mortalize him, he avoided all acclamations of the " people; he bluſhed at his victories; he received " applauſe with the ſame air that others make apolo- " gies, and was almoſt afraid of waiting upon the " king, being obliged, through reſpect, to hear pa- " tiently the encomiums with which his Majeſty never " failed to honour him. " It

(*e*) M. Turenne's funeral oration, by M. Flechier.

" It was then, in the calm repoſe of a private ſtate, " that this prince, diveſting himſelf of all glory he " had acquired in the field, and ſhutting himſelf up " with a ſmall company of choſen friends, practiſed in " ſilence the virtues of civil life: ſincere in his words, " plain in his actions, faithful in friendſhip, exact in " duties, regular in his wiſhes, and great, even in the " minuteſt things. He conceals himſelf; but his fame " diſcovers him. He walks without attendance; but " every one images him riding in a triumphal chariot. " When people ſee him, they count the number of the " enemies he has conquered, and not the attendants " that follow him. Though alone, they conceive him " ſurrounded with his attendant virtues and victories. " There is ſomething inexpreſſibly great and noble in " this virtuous ſimplicity; and the leſs haughty he is, " the more venerable he appears."

III. *The honourable reception M. de Turenne met with from the king, upon his return from the campaign. His modeſty.*

A ſimple propoſition. Renowned captains under the Roman emperors were obliged, upon their return from the field, to avoid meeting their friends; and to come into the city by night, that they might not excite the jealouſy of the prince, who uſed to receive them with great coolneſs; after which they ſtood undiſtinguiſhed in the crowd. M. Turenne had the good fortune to live under a king, who beſtowed the higheſt applauſes upon him, and, had he been deſirous of riches, would have laviſhed them upon him. He returned from the field as a private perſon comes from taking a walk. The looks, the praiſes, the acclamations of all the people made no impreſſion on him.

" (*f*) Suffer me to put you in mind of thoſe unhap- " py ages of the Roman empire, when private men

(*f*) M. Turenne's funeral oration, by M. Maſcaron.

" were not permitted to be virtuous or renowned;
" becauſe the princes were ſo wicked, that they puniſh-
" ed both virtue and glory. After their generals had
" conquered provinces and kingdoms, they were ob-
" liged upon their return to avoid meeting their
" friends; to come into the city by night, to prevent
" their drawing too much the eyes of the people upon
" them; ſo far were they from aſpiring to the honour
" of a triumph. A cold embrace, without the leaſt
" conference or diſcourſe, was all the reception a
" prince gave to a man who had ſaved the empire.
" After returning from the emperor's cabinet, through
" which he only paſſed, he was forced to mix among
" the crowd of other ſlaves. (g) *Exceptuſque brevi*
" *oſculo, nullo ſermone, turbæ ſervientium immixtus eſt.*

" M. Turenne had the happineſs to live under, and
" ſerve a monarch, whoſe virtue cannot be eclipſed by
" that of his ſubjects. No grandeur or glory can
" cloud the ſun which enlightens us; and the moſt
" important actions achieved by ſubjects, never give
" any uneaſineſs to a prince whoſe own magnanimity
" convinces him that he deſerves them. And indeed,
" the marks of eſteem and confidence which the king
" ſhewed M. Turenne, were equivalent to the glory
" of a triumph. The rewards would likewiſe have
" been as great as thoſe diſtinctions, had the king
" found him inclinable to receive favours. But that
" which was the effect of good policy in the unhappy
" times, when virtue had nothing to fear ſo much as
" its luſtre, was in him the reſult of natural and art-
" leſs modeſty.

" He turned from his triumphant campaigns with
" the ſame indifference and tranquillity, as if he had
" come from taking a walk; not ſo much affected
" with his own glory as the reſt of the world were;
" whilſt the people thronged in vain to ſee him. Thoſe
" who had the honour to know, pointed him out in

(g) Tacit.

" aſſemblies

" aſſembles, with their eyes, their geſtures, and voices,
" to ſuch as did not. Though his preſence only,
" without any attendance or equipage, made that al-
" moſt divine impreſſion on the minds of people,
" which ſo ſtrongly engages reſpect, and is the ſweeteſt
" and moſt innocent fruit of heroic virtue; yet all
" theſe circumſtances, ſo apt to make a man conceive
" either a ſecret vanity of himſelf, or expreſs it by his
" outward behaviour, wrought no change in the tran-
" quillity of his ſoul; and for aught he cared, his vic-
" tories and triumphs might have been buried in ob-
" livion."

IV. *The Queen of England's eſcape by ſea.*

A ſimple propoſition. The queen was obliged to leave her kingdom. She ſailed out of the Engliſh ports in ſight of the rebel fleet, which purſued her cloſe. This voyage was far different from that ſhe had made on the ſame ſea, when ſhe went to take poſſeſſion of the ſceptre of Great Britain. At that time every thing was propitious; now all the reverſe.

(*b*) " The queen was obliged to leave her kingdom.
" And indeed ſhe ſailed out of the Engliſh ports in ſight
" of the rebellious navy, which chaſed her ſo cloſe,
" that ſhe almoſt heard their cries and inſolent threats.
" Alas! how different was this voyage from that ſhe
" made on the ſame ſea, when, coming to take poſ-
" ſeſſion of the ſceptre of Great Britain, ſhe ſaw the
" billows ſmooth themſelves, as it were, under her,
" to pay homage to the queen of the ſeas! Now
" chaſed, purſued by her implacable enemies, who had
" been ſo audacious as to draw up an accuſation againſt
" her: ſometimes juſt eſcaped; ſometimes juſt taken;
" her fortune ſhifting every quarter of an hour, having
" no other aſſiſtance but God and her own invincible
" fortitude;

(*b*) The queen of England's funeral oration, by M. Boſſuet.

" fortitude; ſhe had neither winds nor ſails enough " to favour her precipitate flight."

PARALLELS.

So I call thoſe paſſages in which the orator draws together and compares contrary or different objects. Theſe paintings are very pleaſing to the mind, from the variety of images they preſent to it, and very much embelliſh a diſcourſe. We have already taken notice of ſome of them in the preceding deſcriptions, and will now give ſome more examples.

I. PARALLEL *between M. Turenne and the Cardinal de Bouillon.*

A ſimple propoſition. While M. Turenne was employed in taking fortreſſes and conquering the enemy, the Cardinal de Bouillon was converting heretics, and repairing churches.

(*i*) " How great was his joy, after the taking of " fortreſſes, to ſee his illuſtrious nephew, more glo- " rious by his virtues than by his awful robes, open- " ing and reconſecrating churches, under the direction " of a monarch equally pious and powerful. The one " advanced military glory, the other holy religion: " the one beat down ramparts, the other repaired altars: " the one ravaged the lands of the Philiſtines, the " other carried the ark around the tents of Iſrael; and " then uniting their wiſhes, as before their hearts, the " nephew ſhared in the ſervices the uncle performed " for the ſtate; and the uncle partook of thoſe per- " formed by the nephew for the church."

II. PARALLEL *between violent and languiſhing diſeaſes.*

(*k*) " 'Tis true, he did not undergo thoſe cruel " pains which pierce the body, rend the ſoul, and in a " moment extinguiſh the conſtancy of a ſick per- " ſon. But if God's mercy ſoftened the rigour of his

(*i*) M. Turenne's funeral oration, by M. Flechier.
(*k*) M. Montaufier's funeral oration, by M. Flechier.

" his repentance, his juſtice increaſed its duration;
" and as much ſtrength of mind was requiſite to ſup-
" port that long trial, as if it had been ſhorter and
" more ſevere.

" Indeed, nature collects her whole ſtrength, when
" attacked by ſudden and violent diſeaſes; the heart for-
" tifies itſelf with its whole fund of conſtancy. Exceſs
" of pain, on theſe occaſions, makes us more inſenſi-
" ble; and if we ſuffer much, we have ſtill the com-
" fort of thinking we ſhall not ſuffer long. But lan-
" guiſhing diſeaſes are ſo much the more ſevere, as we
" cannot foreſee when they will end. We muſt bear
" both with the ſickneſs and the medicines, which are
" no leſs grievous. Nature is every day more and
" more oppreſſed: its ſtrength decays every inſtant;
" and patience grows weak, as well as the perſon who
" ſuffers."

III. PARALLEL. *The Queen ſerving the poor in the hoſpital, and ſharing in the King's glory and triumphs.*

(*l*) " Faithful companions of her piety, who now
" bewail her death, you followed her, when ſhe
" walked in this Chriſtian pomp, between two lines
" of poor, ſick or dying perſons; greater far in thus
" voluntarily diveſting herſelf of her grandeur, and
" more glorious in imitating the humility and patience
" of Jeſus Chriſt, than when ſhe ſhared in the glory
" and triumphs of the king her conſort, in a ſplendid
" and triumphant car, between two lines of victorious
" ſoldiers."

IV. PARALLEL *between a wicked and an ignorant judge.*

(*m*) " He would have thought it the moſt eſſential
" defect in his employments, not to have made his in-
" tentions

(*l*) The Queen's funeral oration, by M. Flechier.
(*m*) M. Lamoignon's funeral oration, by M. Flechier.

" tentions as clear and obvious, as he believed them " upright and juſt; and indeed, it was an uſual ſaying " with him, that there was little difference between " a corrupt and an ignorant judge: The one has, at " leaſt the precepts of his duty, and the image of his " injuſtice before his eyes; but the other ſees neither " the good nor the evil he does: the one ſins witting- " ly, and is therefore the more inexcuſable; but the " other ſins without remorſe, and is the more incor- " rigible; but they are equally criminal with regard " to thoſe they condemn, either through miſtake or " through malice. Whether a perſon is hurt by a " mad or a blind man the pain is ſtill the ſame. And " with regard to thoſe who are undone, it avails little " whether it be by a man who deceives them, or one " who is himſelf deceived."

COMMON PLACES.

Having already cited ſeveral, I ſhall give but one here, in which the importance and difficulty of the employment of the (*a*) *Lieutenant de police* in Paris are repreſented.

" (*b*) The inhabitants of a well governed city enjoy " the benefit of its polity, without conſidering the " trouble and pains of thoſe who eſtabliſh or preſerve " it; much after the ſame manner as all mankind en- " joy the benefit of the celeſtial motions, without any " knowledge of them; and even, the more the uni- " formity of political order reſembles that of the ce- " leſtial bodies, the leſs 'tis obſervable; and conſequent- " ly, is always leſs obvious, the more perfect it is. But " he who ſhould know it in all its extent, would be " aſtoniſhed. To repair perpetually the immenſe " conſumption of the neceſſaries of life in ſuch a ci- " ty as Paris, of which ſome of the ſources may be " dried up by a multitude of accidents; to reſtrain " the tyranny of tradeſmen, with regard to the pub- " lic, and at the ſame time to encourage their traf- " fic;

(*a*) A kind of Lord Mayor. (*b*) M. de Fontenelle.

" ſic; to prevent the encroachments of the people up-
" on one another, which often are difficult to unravel;
" to diſcover in an infinite multitude all thoſe who can
" ſo eaſily conceal their pernicious arts in it; to purge
" the community of, or not to tolerate them farther
" than as they may be uſeful to it, by employments
" which none but themſelves would undertake, or could
" diſcharge ſo well; to keep neceſſary abuſes within
" the exact bounds of the occaſions for them, through
" which they are always ready to break; to confine
" them to the obſcurity to which they ought to be con-
" demned, and not to draw them out of it, by too no-
" torious and remarkable puniſhments; to be ignorant
" of ſuch things as had better be unknown than puniſh-
" ed, and to puniſh but ſeldom, and with good effect;
" to penetrate, by inviſible methods, into the moſt con-
" cealed conduct of families, and to keep thoſe ſecrets
" which were not truſted, ſo long as there may be no oc-
" caſion to make uſe of them; to be every where
" without being ſeen; in a word, to put in motion or
" reſtraint at pleaſure an infinite and tumultuous mul-
" titude, and to be continually the active and almoſt
" the unknown ſoul of this great body; theſe are in ge-
" neral, the functions of this magiſtrate in the city of
" Paris. One would imagine, that a ſingle perſon,
" were not equal to all this, from the number of things
" he is to take cogniſance of; the views and deſigns he
" muſt purſue; the application that muſt be uſed; and
" the variety of conduct and characters he muſt aſſume.
" But the public voice will declare, whether M. D'Ar-
" genſon is equal to theſe ſeveral functions."

'Tis obvious, that ſuch models, ſo beautiful and perfect in their kind, being propoſed to youth, either for reading, or for ſubjects of compoſition, are very well adapted to raiſe their genius, and enlarge the inventive faculty, eſpecially when explained and illuſtrated by an able maſter; which was one reaſon that induced me

me to make choice of theſe examples in the demonſtrative kind, being moſt ſuſceptible of embelliſhments.

After they have read a conſiderable number of theſe paſſages ſelected from good authors, it will be proper to make them obſerve the difference of ſtiles and characters, and even the faults, if any occur, both in ſtile and language.

I have hitherto cited but four authors; not but there are ſeveral others, out of which I might extract the like examples; but it was proper to limit myſelf to a certain number, and thoſe above fell in my way: they are all extraordinary; but then they are different, there being no reſemblance between any of them, each forming a peculiar character that diſtinguiſhes them; and perhaps they may not be without ſome faults.

What is moſt diſtinguiſhable in M. Flechier, is a purity of diction, elegance of ſtile, rich and florid expreſſions, beautiful thoughts, a prudent vivacity of imagination, and what is conſequential of it, a wonderful art in painting objects, and making them, as it were, ſenſible and obvious.

But then, I think a kind of monotony and uniformity run through all his writings; he has every where almoſt the ſame turns, the ſame figures, the ſame method. The antitheſis engroſſes almoſt all his thoughts, and often enervates, out of deſign to adorn them. When that figure is ſparingly uſed, and properly applied, it has a beautiful effect. Thus it happily concludes the magnificent elogium of Lewis XIV. ſpoke by M. Flechier. (*p*) "By authority, always a King; by "tenderneſs always a father." *When it turns on a play of words, it is not ſo valuable*; (*q*) "Happy he, who did "not go in purſuit of riches! More happy he, who re"fuſed them, when they went to him!" This figure may even become tedious, though it be ever ſo juſt, if it be too often repeated. (*r*) "Who does not know, ſhe

(*p*) M. le Tellier's funeral oration.
(*q*) M. de Lamoignon's funeral oration.
(*r*) Mad. de Montauſier's funeral oration.

" was admired in an age when others are not known?
" How great was her wiſdom, at a time when others
" have hardly the uſe of reaſon! And how able ſhe was
" to give advice, when others are ſcarce capable of re-
" ceiving it!"

M. Boſſuet writes in a quite different manner. He did not amuſe himſelf with the ſuperficial ornaments of oratory; and even ſometimes neglected the too ſlaviſh rules of the purity of diction, and aims at the grand, the ſublime, and pathetic. It is true indeed, he is leſs uniform and equal, which is the characteriſtic of the ſublime ſtile: but on the other hand, he raiſes, raviſhes, and tranſports. The ſtrongeſt and moſt lively figures are common, and, as it were, natural to him.

" (*s*) O admirable mother, wife, and queen! and
" worthy of better fortune, were the fortunes of this
" world of any value! But————you muſt ſubmit
" to your fate.

" She ſaw with aſtoniſhment, when her hour was
" come, that God was going to take the king her ſon, as
" it were by the hand, to conduct him to his throne. She
" ſubmitted more than ever to that ſovereign hand,
" which from the higheſt heavens holds the reins of all
" empires; and deſpiſing the thrones that may be uſurp-
" ed, ſhe fixed all her affection on that kingdom, where
" there is no fear of rivals, (*t*) and where competitors
" view one another without jealouſy."

He draws the pourtrait of Cromwell, as follows:
" A man aroſe of an incredible depth of underſtand-
" ing, a refined hypocrite as well as able politician,
" capable of undertaking and concealing all things;
" equally active and indefatigable in peace and war,
" who never left any thing to fortune which he could
" force from her by counſel or forecaſt; but at the
" ſame time ſo vigilant and ready, that he never loſt
" any

(*s*) The Queen of England's funeral oration.

(*t*) Plus amant illud regnum, in quo non timent habere conſortes. S. Auſtin.

" any opportunity ſhe put in his way. In a word, one " of thoſe reſtleſs and audacious ſpirits, that ſeem born " to alter the courſe of the world."

In another place, he deſcribes the manner in which the princeſs Henrietta Anne of England was almoſt miraculouſly delivered out of the hands of the rebels.

" [*u*] In ſpite of the ſtorms of the ocean, and the " more violent commotions of the earth, God taking " her on his wings, as the eagle does her young ones, " carries her into that kingdom; places her in the bo- " ſom of the Queen her mother, or rather in the boſom " of the Catholic Church.

" [*x*] What ſhall I ſay more? Hear all in one word; " Daughter, Wife, Mother, Miſtreſs, Queen; ſuch " as our wiſhes would have formed her, but what is " more than all, a Chriſtian Queen; ſhe performed " every duty without preſumption; and was not on- " ly humble amidſt all her greatneſs, but amidſt the " whole circle of virtues.

" Sword of the Lord, what a blow haſt thou now " ſtruck! the whole earth is aſtoniſhed at it."

He ſometimes employs antitheſes, but they are ſublime in his orations. [*y*] " Notwithſtanding the ill ſuc- " ceſs of his arms (meaning King Charles I.) and " though his enemies were able to conquer him, yet " they were not able to force him to baſe ſubmiſſions; " and as he never refuſed any thing that was reaſonable " while a conqueror, ſo he always rejected whatever " was weak and unjuſt, while a priſoner."

M. Maſcaron has ſomething of the character of the two authors above-mentioned, but does not reſemble them in every reſpect. He is at the ſame time very elegant and great; but, in my opinon, leſs florid than the one, and leſs ſublime than the other. Art does not appear with ſo much oſtentation in him

as

[*u*] The ducheſs of Orlean's funeral oration.
[*x*] Funeral oration of Maria Tereſa of Auſtria.
[*y*] The Queen of England's funeral oration.

as in the former, which is a great art; and perhaps his genius was not ſo fruitful and daring as that of the latter.

" [*y*] Heathen Rome would have raiſed ſtatues to " him under the Cæſars; and Chriſtian Rome finds " him worthy of admiration under the pontiffs of the " religion of Chriſt Jeſus.

" M. Turenne, when conqueror of the enemies of " the ſtate, never created ſo univerſal and ſenſible a joy " to France, as M. Turenne conquered by truth, and " ſubjected to the yoke of the faith.

" Angels of the higheſt order in the hierarchy; " ſpirits appointed by Providence to guard this great " ſoul, tell us, how vaſt was the joy of the church " of heaven at the converſion of this prince; and with " what rejoicing the firſt perfumes of the prayers of " this new catholic were received; when you wafted " them to the foot of the altar of the Lamb reigning in " glory, from the foot of the Lamb ſacrificed.

" No man was ever better qualified to exhibit great " and noble objects to the world; but no man ever ſo- " licited leſs the applauſes of the ſpectators.

" But though there was nothing harſh in his behavi- " our on theſe occaſions; yet ſuch was his modeſty, " that his countenance diſcovered he thought himſelf " unworthy of praiſe.

" In his diſcourſe, he was as free from the pomp of " modeſty, as from that of pride.

" What cannot a great maſter effect, when he is to " form a ſublime genius? No ſooner had M. Turenne " given his firſt counſels, but he found there was no oc- " caſion for more; being prevented by the clear un- " derſtanding, penetration, the happy and ſage impetu- " oſity of this great monarch's [*z*] courage. In like " manner, as we ſee the thunder (formed almoſt in an " inſtant within a cloud) lighten, break out, ſtrike and " bear down every thing; ſo the firſt fires of military

" ardour

[*y*] M. Turenne's funeral oration. [*z*] Lewis XIV.

" ardour are ſcarce lighted in the king's heart; but they " ſparkle, break out, and ſtrike with terror univerſally."

The author of the " Common Place" upon the functions of the lieutenant de police, has a character very different from the three others. The little ſpecimen I gave of it is exquiſite, and muſt appear the more beautiful, becauſe its beauties are leſs affected, though the ſubject was very ſuſceptible of thoſe bright and florid turns; but he choſe rather to expreſs his thoughts in a juſt and ſolid manner.

The academic elogiums compoſed by the ſame author, being of that kind of eloquence which the Latins call " genus tenue et ſubtile;" its ſtile is, as it ſhould be, more ſimple; but that ſimplicity is attended with a great deal of wit, as will appear from ſome ſelect paſſages I ſhall now cite: Theſe will ſhow, that " Every thing he " ſays is his own," to uſe the ſame terms this author does in ſpeaking of one of his brother academicians; to which I would willingly ſubjoin, " and his manner of " expreſſing it."

We there find ſome images copied from nature; and very ſimple, but at the ſame time very lively deſcriptions.

" M. Dodart, ſays he, in the elogium of that illuſtri- " ous member of the royal academy, was naturally grave " and ſerious; and the Chriſtian attention with which " he always watched over himſelf, was not of a caſt to " make him change that diſpoſition. But this ſeriouſ- " neſs, ſo far from being gloomy or auſtere, ſufficiently " diſcovered a fund of that prudent and laſting joy, " which reſults from the moſt refined reaſon and tran- " quillity of conſcience. This diſpoſition is not pro- " ductive of ſtarts of gaiety, but of an even ſweetneſs " of temper, which may however become gaiety for " ſome moments, and by a kind of ſurprize. And all " this united, imparts that air of dignity which be- " longs only to virtue, and which eminency and ſtation " cannot give. M. de Vauban deſpiſed that ſuper- " ficial politeneſs which pleaſes the generality of " people,

" people, and under which a great deal of barbarity is
" often concealed; but his goodneſs, humanity, and li-
" berality, formed another kind of politeneſs more ſel-
" dom met with; it being intirely that of the heart.
" It became ſuch an aſſemblage of virtues to neglect
" exterior forms, which were indeed natural to him,
" but which vice can aſſume with too much facility.

" It is allowed, that Cicero has ſerved as a model
" for dialogue, and for this method of treating philo-
" ſophy, (he means the philoſophy of M. du Hamel)
" but he is likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by the purity and cor-
" rectneſs of his Latin; and, what is ſtill more impor-
" tant, by the great variety of ingenious and delicate
" expreſſions, with which his works are interwoven.
" Theſe are philoſophical reaſonings, which have hap-
" pily loſt their natural, at leaſt their uſual jejuneneſs,
" by paſſing through a florid imagination; and yet
" without taking any more from it, than a juſt propor-
" tion of beauty. Whatever is to be adorned only to a
" certain degree, it is always the moſt difficult to adorn.

" Father Malebranche's " inquiry after truth," is
" diſtinguiſhed on account of the great art with which
" it ſets abſtracted truths in their true light, joins them
" together, and adds new ſtrength to them from their
" union. The diction is not only pure and correct, but
" has all the dignity requiſite to the ſubjects, and all the
" graces they could admit. Not that he took any pains
" to cultivate the talents of the imagination; on the
" contrary, he always undervalued them. But his
" own was naturally very noble and lively, and labour-
" ed for her ungrateful poſſeſſor, in ſpite of himſelf;
" and adorned reaſon, whilſt ſhe concealed herſelf from
" it.

" Botany is not an idle ſedentary ſcience, that may
" be attained in the calm repoſe of ſtudy. It requires
" us to ramble over mountains and foreſts; climb ſteep
" rocks, and expoſe ourſelves upon the brink of preci-

" pices.

" pices. The only books that can inſtruct us effectually " in this ſcience, have been diſperſed at random over the " whole ſurface of the earth; and we muſt reſolve to " undergo the fatigue and danger of inquiring after and " collecting them. [*a*] His predominant inclination " made him ſurmount all things. Thoſe frightful and " inacceſſable rocks, with which he was ſurrounded on " all ſides in the Pyrenees, were transformed, with re- " ſpect to him, into a magnificent library, where he " had the pleaſure to find whatever his curioſity requir- " ed, and where he ſpent many delightful days."

The author of the elogiums has the art of applying " a propos" certain paſſages from hiſtory and antiquity which are very proper to inſtruct youth in the ſerious and prudent uſe to be made of them in compoſition.

" M. Parent was charged with writing obſcurely; " for we are frank, and follow, in ſome meaſure, a law " made anciently in Egypt, by which the actions and " characters of the dead were examined before judges, " in order to determine what was due to their memory.

" A certain king of Armenia aſked Nero for an ex- " traordinary player, fit for all parts; that he might " have, ſaid he, a whole company in him alone. So " M. de la Hire might have been ſaid to have poſſeſſed " in himſelf only, a whole academy of ſciences."

In ſpeaking of M. Leibnitz, who had acquired almoſt the whole circle of ſciences: " We are, ſays he " obliged to divide him in this place; and, philo- " ſophically ſpeaking, to reſolve him into his conſtitu- " ents parts. Of many Hercules's, the ancients made " but one; and of M. Leibnitz's alone, we ſhall make " many learned men.

" [*b*] He went into Auvergne, Languedoc, Pro- " vence, on the Alps, and the Pyrenees; and did " not return, till he had got together numerous co- " lonies

[*a*] M. Tournefort. [*b*] M. Fagon.

" lonies of plants, deſigned for replanting this deſert,
" that is, the royal garden, which was ſo unfurniſhed
" with plants, that it was in a manner no longer a gar-
" den."

If we were allowed to ſearch for imperfections among ſo many beauties, we might perhaps ſuſpect one to be a certain turn of thoughts, ſomething too uniform, (though they are very much diverſified) which terminates the greateſt part of the articles by a ſhort and lively turn in a ſententious way, and ſeems inſtructed to ſeize the concluſion of the periods, as a poſt which belongs to itſelf, excluſively of all others.

" What exalts the underſtanding, ſhould likewiſe
" exalt the ſoul.

" The ſame piety that made him worthy of enter-
" ing the church, kept him out of it.

" The ſame cauſe that kept him out, made him wor-
" thy of it.

" The more the eyes have ſeen, the more reaſon it-
" ſelf ſees.

" That which he believed, he ſaw: whereas others
" ſee ere they believe, &c."

I ſhould be afraid, that a model of ſuch authority might, one day or other, make eloquence degenerate into thoſe touches, called (*c*) " ſtimuli quidam et ſubiti
" ictus ſententiarum," by Seneca; which, in the opinion of the ſame author, ſeem, by their ſtudied affectation, to beg applauſe; and which was unknown to the judicious ancients. (*d*) " Apud antiquos nondum cap-
" tabatur plauſibilis oratio."

We muſt, however, not reject them entirely; for they may give great grace and even ſtrength to diſcourſe, as we often find in the author in queſtion, as I ſhall take notice elſewhere. But there is reaſon to fear the abuſe of this permiſſion; which obliges me to animadvert often and ſtrenuouſly upon it.

CHAP.

(*c*) Epiſt. 100. (*d*) Epiſt. 59.

CHAP. III.

Of the READING *and* EXPLAINING *of* AUTHORS.

I HAVE already obſerved, in treating of the various duties of a profeſſor of rhetoric, with regard to eloquence, that this part was one of the moſt eſſential; and may, in one ſenſe, be ſaid to include all the reſt. 'Tis, indeed, in the explanation of authors, that the maſter applies the precepts and teaches youth to make uſe of them in compoſing.

The rules which relate to the explaining of authors, are, no doubt, neceſſary in a certain degree, to all the claſſes; but they belong to that of rhetoric more particularly, becauſe the judgment of youth is then more mature, and conſequently more capable of improving from theſe rules: till then, maſters are principally intent upon teaching them the rules and principles of grammar, and to make them obſerve the correctneſs, purity, and elegance of language. (*e*) But the proper duty of a rhetorician is, to ſhow them the diſpoſition of an oration, and the beauties and even faults which may occur in it.

" (*f*) He obſerves to them, in what manner the exordium conciliates the favour and good will of the auditors; points out the perſpicuity and brevity, the

(*e*) Demonſtrare virtutes, vel ſi quando ita incidat, vitia, id profeſſionis ejus atque promiſſi, qui ſe magiſtrum eloquentiæ pollicetur, maxime proprium eſt. Quintil. l. 5. c. 2.

(*f*) Quæ in proœmio conciliandi judicis ratio: quæ narrandi lux, brevitas, fides, quod aliquando conſilium et quam occulta calliditas: [namque ea ſola in hoc ars eſt, quæ intelligi niſi ab artifice non poſſit] quanta deinceps in dividendo prudentia: quam ſubtilis et crebra argumentatio; quibus inſpiret, qua jucunditate permulceat, quanta in maledictis aſperitas, in jocis urbanitas, ut denique dominetur in affectibus, atque in pectora irrumpat, animumque judicum ſimilem iis quæ dicit efficiat. Tum in ratione eloquendi quod verbum proprium, ornatum, ſublime: ubi amplificatio laudanda, quæ virtus ea contrarii: quid ſpecioſe tranſlatum: quæ figura verborum: quæ lenis et quadrata, virilis tamen compoſitio. Quint. l. 2. c. 5.

" the air of ſincerity, the deſign which may ſometimes
" be concealed, and the artifice of a naration; for the
" ſecret of this art is ſcarce known, except to ſuch as
" profeſs it: afterwards he ſhows the order and exact-
" neſs of the diviſion; how the orator finds out by the
" force of genius, a great number of methods and argu-
" ments, which he crowds upon each other; now he is
" more vehement and ſublime; then ſoft and inſinuat-
" ing; with what force and violence he animates his
" invectives; what wit and beauty appear in his raille-
" ry; in fine, how he moves the paſſions, wins the
" hearts of his hearers, and actuates them as he
" thinks fit: from hence proceeding to elocution, he
" makes them obſerve the propriety, the elegance and
" nobleneſs of expreſſions; on what occaſion amplifi-
" cation is laudable, and what its oppoſite virtue is;
" the beauty of the metaphors, and other figures;
" what a flowing and harmonious, and, at the ſame, a
" manly and nervous ſtile is."

This paſſage of Quintilian may be conſidered as an excellent epitome of the precepts of rhetoric, and of the duties of maſters in explaining authors. What I ſhall ſay hereafter will ſerve only to illuſtrate and ſet it in a clearer light.

I ſhall begin with giving an idea of the three kinds or characters of eloquence, and here ſettle ſome general rules of rhetoric which appear to me beſt adapted to form the taſte; and this is properly the end I propoſe in this work. I ſhall afterwards proceed to the chief obſervations which, I think, ſhould be made in reading authors; and conclude this treatiſe with ſome reflections on the eloquence of the bar, the pulpit, and that of the holy ſcripture.

But I muſt firſt premiſe, that authors ſhould not be read ſuperficially, or in a hurry, if we propoſe to improve by them. (g) We ſhould often review the ſame paſſages,

(g) Optimus quiſque legendus eſt, ſed diligentor, ac pene ad ſcribendi ſolci-

paſſages, eſpecially the moſt beautiful; read them again with attention, compare them with one another, by thoroughly examining their ſenſe and beauties; and make them ſo familiar to us, as to have them almoſt by heart. The ſureſt way of improving by this ſtudy of authors, which is to be conſidered as the food of the underſtanding, is to digeſt it at leiſure, and thereby convert it, as it were, into one's ſubſtance.

To obtain that end, (*h*) we muſt not value ourſelves upon reading a great number of authors, but ſuch only as are of moſt value. We may ſay of too great reading, what Seneca obſerves of a prodigious library (*i*), that inſtead of enriching and forming the mind, it often only diſorders and confounds it. It is much better to fix upon a ſmall number of choice authors, and to ſtudy theſe thoroughly, than to amuſe ourſelves ſuperficially, and hurry over a multitude of books.

SECTION I.

Of three different Kinds or Characters of ELOQUENCE.

(*k*) As there are three principal qualifications requiſite in an orator, to inſtruct, to pleaſe, and move the paſſions; ſo there are three kinds of eloquence, which produce thoſe effects, generally called the plain or ſimple, the ſublime and the mixed.

(*l*) The firſt is more particularly adapted to narration and

ſolicitudinem. . . . Repetamus autem, et tractemus: et ut cibos manſos ac prope liquefactos dimittimus, quo facilius digerantur; ita lectio non cruda, ſed multa iteratione mollita, et velut confecta, memoriæ imitationique tradatur. Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1.

(*h*) Tu memineris ſui cujuſque generis auctores diligenter eligere. Aiunt enim multum legendum eſſe, non multa. Plin. Epiſt. 9. l. 7.

(*i*) Quo mihi innumerabiles libros et bibliothecas? —— Onerat diſcentem turba, non inſtruit: multoque ſatius eſt paucis te auctoribus tradere, quam errare per multos. Sen. de Tranq. an. c. 9.

(*k*) Erit eloquens is qui ita dicet, ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat. Probare, neceſſitatis eſt; delectare, ſuavitatis; flectere, victoriæ —— ſed quot officia oratoris, tot ſunt genera dicendi: ſubtile, in probando; modicum, in delectando; vehemens, in flectendo. Orat. n. 69.

(*l*) Illo ſubtili præcipue ratio narrandi probandique conſiſtet. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

and proof. Its principal character conſiſts in perſpicuity, ſimplicity and exactneſs. It is not an enemy to ornament, but then it admits of none except ſuch as are plain and ſimple, rejecting thoſe which argue affectation and varniſh. 'Tis not a lively ſhining beauty that enhances its merit, but a ſoft, a modeſt grace, ſometimes attended with an air of negligence, which ſtill exalts its value. Simplicity of thought, purity of diction, with an inexpreſſible elegance, which affects more ſenſibly than it ſeems to do, are its ſole ornaments. We do not find in it any of thoſe elaborate figures which too plainly diſcover art, and ſeem to proclaim the orator's endeavour to pleaſe. In a word, the ſame obſervation may be made on this ſpecies of writing, as on thoſe ſimple, but elegant entertainments, where all the diſhes are of an exquiſite taſte, but nothing admitted that is either too much forced, or too exceſſive in ſauces, ſeaſoning and preparation.

(*m*) There is another ſpecies of writing quite different from

Ut mulieres eſſe dicuntur nonnullæ inornatæ, quas, idipſum deceat, ſic hæc ſubtilis oratio etiam incompta delectat Fit enim quiddam in utroque, quo ſit venuſtius, ſed non ut appareat. Tum removebitur omnis inſignis ornatus, quaſi margaritarum: nec calamiſtri quidem adhibebuntur. Fucati vero medicamenta candoris et ruboris omnia repellentur: elegantia modo et munditia remanebit. Sermo purus et latinus: dilucide pleneque dicetur. Orat. n. 72, 79.

Verecundus erit uſus oratoriæ quaſi ſupellectilis. N. 80.

Figuras adhibet quidem hæc ſubtilis, ſed paulo parcius. Nam ſic, ut in epularum apparatu a magnificentia recedens, non ſe parcum ſolum, ſed etiam elegantem videri volet; eliget quibus utatur. . . . Aberunt quæſitæ venuſtates, ne elaborata concinnitas, et quoddam aucupium delectationis manifeſte deprehenſum appareat. Ib. n. 84.

(*m*) Tertius eſt ille amplus, copioſus, gravis, ornatus: in quo profecto vis maxima eſt. Hic eſt enim, cujus ornatum dicendi et copiam admiratæ gentes eloquentiam in civitatibus plurimum valere paſſæ ſunt, ſed hanc eloquentiam quæ curſu magno ſonituque ferretur, quam ſuſciperent omnes, quam admirarentur, quam ſe aſſequi poſſe diffiderent. Hujus eloquentiæ eſt tractare animos; hujus omni modo permovere. Orat. n 97.

Nam et grandiloqui, ut ita dicam, fuerunt, cum ampla et ſententiarum gravitate, et majeſtate verborum; vehementes, varii copioſi, graves, ad permovendos et convertendos animos inſtructi et parati. Orat. n. 20.

from the former; great, rich, grave and noble; 'tis called the grand, the ſublime; it employs whatever in eloquence is moſt elevated, has the greateſt force, and is moſt capable of moving the affections; ſuch as noble thoughts, rich expreſſions, bold figures, and lively paſſions. It is this ſort of eloquence that governed all things in old Athens and Rome, and determined abſolutely in the public councils and meaſures. It is this that tranſports and ſeizes admiration and applauſe. It is this that thunders and lightens, and (*n*) like a rapid ſtream, carries away and bears down all before it.

In fine, there is a third (*o*) ſpecies of eloquence which ſeems to be placed, as it were, between the other two; having neither the plainneſs and ſimplicity of the firſt, nor the force and energy of the ſecond; it comes near them, but without reſembling them; and participates, or, to ſpeake more properly, is equally diſtant from both. It has more force and copiouſneſs than the firſt, but is leſs ſublime than the ſecond; it admits of all the embelliſhments of art, the beauty of figures, the ſplendor of metaphors, the luſtre of thoughts, the grace of digreſſions, and the harmony of numbers and cadence. It nevertheleſs flows gently, like a beautiful river, whoſe water is clear and pure, and is overſhaded on each ſide with verdant foreſts.

ARTICLE

(*n*) At ille qui ſaxa devolvat, et pontem indignetur, et ripas ſibi faciat, multus et torrens, judicem vel nitentem contra feret, cogetque ire qua rapit. Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.

(*o*) Eſt quidam interjectus intermedius, et quaſi temperatus, nec acumine poſteriorum, nec fulmine utens ſuperiorum; vicinus amborum, in neutro excellens; utriuſque particeps, vel utriuſque, ſi verum quærimus, potius expers. Iſque uno tenore, ut aiunt, in dicendo fluit, nihil afferens præter facilitatem et æqualitatem. Orat. n. 21.

Uberius eſt aliquantoque robuſtius quam hoc humile, ſummiſſius autem quam illud ampliſſimum. . . . Huic omnia dicendi ornamenta conveniunt, plurimumque eſt in hac orationis forma ſuavitatis. Ibid. n. 92.

Medius hic modus et tranſlationibus crebrior, et figuris erit jucundior; egreſſionibus amœnus, compoſitione aptus, ſententiis dulcis; lenior tamen, ut amnis lucidus quidam, et virentibus utrinque ſylvis inumbratus. Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

Of the SIMPLE *Kind.*

I. OF theſe three kinds of writing, the (*p*) firſt which is the ſimple, is not the eaſieſt, though it ſeems to be ſo. As its ſtile is very natural, and does not deviate much from common diſcourſe, we imagine no great ability or genius are required to ſucceed in it; and when we read or hear a diſcourſe in this kind, thoſe who have the leaſt notion of eloquence think themſelves capable of imitating it. They think ſo indeed, but are miſtaken; and to (*q*) convince them, let them only make a trial of it; for after much pains, they will be obliged to own they could not attain it (*r*). Thoſe who have any taſte of true eloquence, and are the beſt ſkilled in it, own there is nothing ſo difficult as to ſpeak with weight and propriety, and at the ſame time in ſo plain and natural a manner, that every man flatters himſelf he could do as much.

II. Cicero, in his firſt book *de Oratore*, obſerves, (*s*) that what excels moſt in other arts, is furthereſt from the underſtanding and capacity of the common people; and, on the contrary, that it is a great fault in eloquence, to vary from the common way of ſpeaking. He does not however pretend to inſinuate by this, that

(*q*) Summiſſus eſt et humilis, conſuetudinem imitans, ab indiſertis re plus quam opinione differens. Itaque eum qui audiunt, quamvis ipſi infantes ſint, tamen illo modo confidunt ſe poſſe dicere. Nam orationis ſubtilitas, imitabilis quidem illa videtur eſſe exiſtimanti, ſed nihil eſt experienti minus. Orat. n. 76.

(*q*) Ut ſibi quivis ſperet idem, ſudet multum, fruſtraque laboret auſus idem. Horat.

(*r*) Rem indicare ſermonis quotidiani, et in quemcunque etiam indoctiorum cadentis eſſe exiſtimant: cum interim, quod tanquam facile contemnunt, neſcias præſtare minus velint, an poſſint. Neque enim aliud in eloquentia cuncta experti difficilius reperiunt, quam id quod ſe dicturos fuiſſe omnes putant; poſtquam audierunt. Quintl. l. 4. c. 2.

(*s*) In cæteris artibus id maxime excellit, quod longiſſime ſit ab imperitorum intelligentia ſenſuque disjunctum: in dicendo autem vitium vel maximum eſt, a vulgari genere orationis atque a conſuetudine communis ſenſus abhorrere. Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 12.

that the ſtile of the orator muſt be like that of the populace, or the language of common converſation; but what he requires, is, that the orator ſhould carefully avoid the expreſſions, the turns and thoughts which might render an oration obſcure and unintelligible, by too affected an elegance, or too much ſublimity. Since he has no other view but to be underſtood, it is certain that the greateſt error he can fall into, is to ſpeak unintelligibly. What therefore diſtinguiſhes his ſtile, from that of converſation, is not, properly ſpeaking, the difference of words or terms (*t*), for they are very near the ſame on both ſides, and derived from the ſame ſource, both for common ſpeech, and the moſt pompous oration; but the orator knows how by his uſe and diſpoſition of them, to raiſe them, as it were, above every thing common, and give them a peculiar grace and elegance, which at the ſame time is ſo natural, that every one would think he could ſpeak in the ſame manner.

III. Quintilian makes a very judicious remark on the topic before us, in explaining a ſeeming contradiction between two paſſages in Cicero. "Tully (*u*), "ſays he, ſomewhere writ, that perfection conſiſts in "ſaying ſuch things as we imagine every one might "eaſily ſay; in attempting which, however, more dif-"ficulty is found than was expected. And he ſays in "another place, that he did not ſtudy to ſpeak, as "every one imagined he could do, but as none could "conceive

(*t*) Non ſunt alia ſermonis, alia contentionis verba; neque ex alio genere ad uſum quotidianum, alio ad ſcenam pompamque ſumuntur: ſed ea nos cum jacentia ſuſtulimus e medio, ſicut molliſſimam ceram ad noſtrum arbitrium formamus et fingimus. Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 177.

(*u*) Cicero quodam loco ſcribit id eſſe optimum, quod cum te facile credideris conſequi imitione, non poſſis. Alio vero, non ſe id egiſſe, ut ita diceret quomodo ſe quilibet poſſe conſideret, ſed quomodo nemo. Quod poteſt pugnare inter ſe videri. Verum utrumque, ac merito, laudatur. Cauſa enim modoque diſtat: quia ſimplicitas illa, velut ſecuritas inaffectæ orationis, mire tenues cauſas decet; majoribus illud admirabile dicendi genus magis convenit. In utroque eminet Cicero: ex quibus alterum imperiti ſe poſſe conſequi credent, neutrum qui intelligunt. Quintil. l. 11. c. 1.

" conceive poſſible; in which he ſeems to contradict " himſelf. But both theſe are very juſt; for the only " difference is in the ſubject treated. And indeed, this " ſimplicity, and negligent air of a natural ſtile, where " nothing is affected, is extremely well adapted to ſmall " cauſes or affairs; as the marvellous ſtile is to grand " and important ones. Cicero excels in both; of which " one, in the opinion of the ignorant, is eaſily attained, " but neither of them is ſo, in the judgment of the " learned." We ſee by this, that the plain ſtile is to be uſed, when we ſpeak of ſimple and common things, and that it is particularly adapted to narratives or relations; and to thoſe parts of a diſcourſe wherein the orator's only view is to inſtruct his auditors, or to inſinuate himſelf gradually into their affections.

IV. [*u*] From thence proceeded the care of the ancients to conceal art, which indeed ceaſes to be ſo when perceived; widely different from the oſtentation and parade of thoſe writers, whoſe aim is to diſplay their wit [*x*]. From thence reſulted a certain kind of negligence, no way offenſive or diſagreeable, becauſe it intimates that the orator is more intent upon things than words. [*y*] In a word, thence reſulted that air of modeſty and reſerve, which the ancients generally took care to diſcover in the exordium and narration, in their ſtile, expreſſion, thoughts, and even in the tone of their voice and their action. The orator has not yet attained the favourable opinion of his

[*u*] Inde illa veterum circa occultandum eloquentiam ſimulatio, multum ab hac temporum noſtrorum jactatione diverſa. Quint. l. 4. c. 1.

[*x*] Habet iſte ſtilus quiddam quod indicet non ingratam negligentiam, de re hominis magis quam de verbis laborantis. Orat. n. 77.

[*y*] Frequentiſſime proœmium decebit, et ſententiarum, et compoſitionis, et vultus modeſtia. . . . Diligentur, ne ſuſpecti ſimus in ulla parte, vitandum: propter quod minime oſtentari debet in principiis cura, quia videtur ars omnis dicentis contra judicem adhiberi. . . . Nondum recepti ſumus, et cuſtodit nos recens audientium attentio. Magis conciliatis animis; et jam calentibus; hæc libertas feretur. Quintil. l. 4. c. 1.

hearers. We examine him carefully. Every thing then that ſavours of art is ſuſpected by the auditors, and creates a diffidence, by making them apprehenſive, that there is a deſign to enſnare them. They are afterwards leſs upon their guard, and give more liberty.

[z] Cicero obſerves, that Demoſthenes followed this rule in his beautiful oration for Cteſiphon, where he ſpeaks at firſt with a ſoft and modeſt tone, and does not proceed to the quick and vehement ſtile which is afterwards predominant, till he had inſinuated himſelf by degrees into the opinion of the auditors, and made himſelf maſter of them: he would have us, for that reaſon, be a little timorous in the beginning, and [a] extols this character of modeſty and reſervedneſs in Craſſus, which, far from being injurious to his diſcourſe, made the orator himſelf more amiable and eſtimable, by the advantageous idea it gave of his perſon.

Homer and Virgil, whoſe poetry is ſo noble and ſublime, begin their poems in the moſt plain and ſimple manner; far unlike that line, which Horace juſtly cenſures in a contemporary bard.

" Fortunam Priami cantabo, et nobile bellum."

" The glorious war, and Priam's fate I'll ſing."

[b] It is indeed ridiculous to cry out with ſo loud a voice, and promiſe ſuch mighty things in the very firſt verſe. The exordium ought generally to be plain and unaffected. [c] This fire, this ſudden ſplendor, often turns into ſmoke; whereas a ſtile at firſt more ſimple and leſs glittering, gives extreme pleaſure, when followed by exalted brightneſs.

This

[z] Demoſthenes in illa pro Cteſiphonte, oratione longe optima, ſummiſſius à principio; deinde, cum de legibus diſputat, preſſius; poſt ſenſim incedens, judices ut vidit ardentes, in reliquis exultavit audacius. Orat. n. 26.

Principia verecunda, non elatis intenſa verbis. Ibid n. 124.

[a] Fuit mirificus quidam in Craſſo pudor, qui tamen non modo non obeſſet ejus orationi, ſed etiam probitatis commendatione prodeſſet. 1 de Orat n. 122.

[b] Quid dignum tanto feret hic promiſſor hiatu? Hor. de art. poet.

[c] Non fumum ex fulgore, ſed ex fumo dare lucem cogitat. Ibid.

This rule, that the exordium muſt be ſimple and modeſt, is not general, either for proſe or poetry. There are ſome harangues, whoſe ſubjects allow, and even require the orator to begin in a noble and grand manner; and the moſt ſublime exordium ſuits the ode perfectly, though it might be very ſhocking in other poems. M. de la Mothe aſſigns a very good reaſon for this difference with regard to poeſy, in the preface to his odes. "The reaſon is, ſays he, that an epic poem being a "work of great length, it would be dangerous to begin "in ſuch a ſtrain as it would be difficult to ſupport or "continue; whereas the ode being comprehended with-"in narrow limits, we can run no riſk, though we warm "the reader in the beginning; for he will have no time "to cool by the length of the piece. In like manner, "a man who is to run a long race, ſhould be very ſpa-"ring of himſelf at firſt, leſt he ſhould waſte his "ſtrength too ſoon; and, on the contrary, he who "had not far to go, might increaſe his natural ſwift-"neſs by his firſt effort, and thereby finiſh his courſe "with the more rapidity."

V. Youth cannot be made too ſenſible of the character of ſimplicity which runs through the writings of the ancients. We muſt accuſtom them to ſtudy nature in all things; and often repeat to them, that the beſt eloquence is that which is the moſt natural, and leaſt farfetched. That whereof we are now treating, conſiſts in a certain ſimplicity, and an elegance which is extremely pleaſing, for no other reaſons, but its not ſtudying to pleaſe. The Grecians gave it a very expreſſive and ſignificant [*d*] name, ἀφέλεια. Ἀφελὴς, intimates a plain kind of life, frugal, modeſt, and decent; devoid of luxury or pomp; that is, in want of nothing, and, at the ſame time, has nothing ſuperfluous; and is pretty near what Horace calls "ſimplex munditiis," an elegant ſimplicity.

[*d*] Ipſa illa ἀφέλεια ſimplex et inaffectata habet quendam purum, qualis etiam in fœminis amatur, ornatum. Quint. l. 8 c. 3.

VI. The relation of Caius's adventure is of this kind; it is in the third book of Tully's Offices; the whole of which I ſhall here repeat with the tranſlation.

[*e*] "C. Canius, eques Romanus, nec infacetus, et "ſatis litenatus, cum ſe Syracuſas, otiandi, ut ipſe dicere "ſolebat, non negotiandi cauſa, contuliſſet; dictitabat "ſe hortulos aliquos velle emere, quo invitare amicos, "et ubi ſe oblectare, ſine interpellatoribus poſſet." How elegant are theſe words, "nec infacetus, et ſatis litera-"tus!" The French verſion of M. du Bois gives the ſenſe very well, but it is not ſo conciſe nor lively. There is a beauty in this kind of play of words, "otiandi, ne-"gotiandi," and in the diminutives, "dictitabat, hortu-"los," which can never be tranſlated into another language.

[*f*] "Quod cum percrebuiſſet, Pythius ei quidam, qui "argentariam faceret Syracuſiis, dixit venales quidem ſe "hortos non habere, ſed licere uti Canio, ſi vellet, ut ſuis; "et ſimul ad cœnam hominem in hortos invitavit in po-"ſterum diem. Cum ille promiſiſſet, tum Pythius, qui "eſſet, ut argentarius, apud omnes ordines gratioſus, piſ-"catores ad ſe convocavit et ab his petivit, ut ante ſuos "hortulos poſtridie piſcarentur, dixitque quid eos facere "vellet." The whole beauty of this paragraph conſiſts in theſe few words; "Pythius, qui eſſet, ut argentarius, "apud omnes ordines gratioſus" It is not ſo well expreſſed in the French, which does not ſufficiently ſhow that his money gave him great credit among all ranks of people. The words, "hominem invitavit," are much more elegant,

[*e*] When C. Canius, a Roman knight, a facetious and ſenſible man, and of ſome learning, went to Syracuſe, not about buſineſs, but to do nothing, as he uſed to ſay; he gave notice, that he would be glad to purchaſe a country-houſe near the city, where he might divert himſelf ſometimes with his friends, without the importunity of viſitors.

[*f*] The report of this ſpreading over all the city, a certain banker of Syracuſe, called Pythius, told him, he had indeed a country-houſe, but not to ſell; that Canius might make uſe of it as his own, and intreated him to dine with him at it the next day. Canius promiſing he would, the banker, whoſe occupation made him acceptable to all ſorts of people, ſent for ſome fiſhermen, and deſired them to fiſh before his houſe the day following; giving them ſome other directions proper for his deſign.

elegant, than if the word "illum" had been ſubſtituted in their place.

[*g*] "Ad cœnam tempore venit Canius. Opipare à "Pythio apparatum convivium. Cymbarum ante oculos "multitudo. Pro ſe quiſque quod ceperat, afferebat: "ante pedes Pythii piſces abjiciebantur." The conciſe ſtile, in which the verbs are ſuppreſſed, is very graceful. We ſhould make our youth obſerve, that it is a beauty which can be ſeldom expreſſed in our language. There is, in my opinion, in the words, "ante pedes Pythii piſces "abjiciebantur," a fine image of people who were in a hurry to throw down a great quantity of fiſh at Pythius's feet. I know not the tranſlator's reaſon for ſubſtituting another thought inſtead of it, which is not in the Latin.

[*b*] "Tum Canius: quæſo, inquit, quid eſt hoc, Py- "thi? Tantumne piſcium, tantumne cymbarum? Et "ille: Quid mirum, inquit? Hoc loco eſt, Syracuſis "quidquid eſt piſcium: hic aquatio: hac villa iſti ca- "rere non poſſunt."

[*i*] "Incenſus Canius cupiditate, contendit à Pythio, "ut venderet. Gravante ille primo. Quid multa? Impe- "trat: emit homo cupidus et locuples tanti, quanti Py- "thius voluit, et emit inſtructos: nomina facit: negoti- "um conficit." Nothing can be finer than this. But theſe words, "homo cupidus et locuples," are uncommonly elegant. They include the two motives which determined Canius to buy this little houſe at ſo high a price;

[*g*] Canius came at the time appointed. He found a magnificent entertainment, and the ſea covered with fiſhermen's boats, who one after another brought Pythius a great quantity of fiſh, as if they had juſt taken them in his preſence.

[*b*] Canius being very much ſurpriſed at the ſight; What, ſays he to Pythius, is there ſuch a quantity of fiſh, and ſuch a number of fiſhing boats here every day? Every day, anſwered Pythius. This is the only place about Syracuſe where there is any fiſh, and where fiſhermen can even get water; and all theſe people cannot ſubſiſt in any other place.

[*i*] Behold Canius enamoured with the houſe; he preſſes Pythius to ſell it him: Pythius ſeems very unwilling; is mightily courted; but conſents at laſt. Canius, being a man of wealth and pleaſure, buys the houſe, giving Pythius whatever he aſked for it, together with the furniture. The contract is ſigned; and the affair ended.

price; which is, that he had a great inclination to poſſeſs it, and was very rich. The tranſlator has not taken the true ſenſe of the firſt word, "Canius, a man of wealth "and pleaſure;" which does not expreſs "homo cupi- "dus."

[*k*] "Invitat Canius poſtridie familiares ſuos: venit "ipſe mature. Scalmum nullum videt. Quærit ex prox- "imo vicino, num feriæ quædam piſcatorum eſſent, quod "eos nullos viderit. Nullæ, quod ſciam, inquit ille: ſed "hic piſcari nulli ſolent. Itaque heri mirabar quid acci- "diſſet. Stomachari Canius. Sed quid faceret? Non- "dum enim Aquilius, collega et familiaris meus, pro- "tulerat de dolo malo formulas: in quibus ipſis, cum "ex eo quæreretur quid eſſet dolus malus, reſponde- "bat, cum eſſet aliud ſimulatum, aliud actum."

Though we ſhould ſuppreſs certain turns, a certain number of ideas and expreſſions in this narrative, ſtill the foundation will be the ſame, and none of the neceſſary circumſtances will be omitted [*l*]; but then it will be diveſted of all its beauty and delicacy, that is, of every thing that adorns narration.

VII. [*m*] I cannot forbear relating in this place, a ſtory which Pliny the naturaliſt has left us, where we may ſee, in a ſingle word, the meaning and energy of that plain and natural embelliſhment of which we are now ſpeaking. A ſlave who had got out of the ſtate of captivity, having purchaſed a ſmall field, cultivated it with ſo much care, that it became the moſt fertile in

[*k*] Canius intreats his friends to come to ſee him, the day following at his new habitation. He repairs thither himſelf very early in the morning, but ſees neither fiſhermen nor fiſhing-boats. He aſks a neighbour whether the fiſhermen were making holiday, ſeeing none of them there. Not that I know of, replies the neighbour; for there never is any fiſhing in this place, and I was yeſterday ſurpriſed to ſee ſo many fiſhing-boats. Upon this, Canius began to fall into a great rage. But what could he do? . . . . For my colleague and friend Aquilius had not yet eſtabliſhed the laws againſt deceit and treachery: What is called deceit then, ſays the ſame Aquilius, is when we give a man room to expect one thing, and do another.

[*l*] Caret cæteris lenociniis expoſitio; et niſi commendetur hac venuſtate, jaceat neceſſe eſt. Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

[*m*] Plin. l. 18. c. 6.

in the whole country; which drew on him the jealouſy of all his neighbours, who charged him with employing magic and charms, to make his own field ſo ſurpriſingly fruitful, and theirs barren. Upon this, he was cited to appear before the people of Rome. He appeared accordingly on the day appointed for his trial. Every body knows that the aſſembly of the people was held in the "Forum," which was the public place of juſtice. (*n*) He brought his daughter with him, who, ſays the hiſtorian from whom this is borrowed, was a ſturdy country wench, very laborious, well fed and clothed. He had brought all his ruſtic inſtruments, which were in a very good condition; ſome very heavy mattocks, a ſtrong plough, and his oxen, which were large and fat. Then, turning to the judges, Theſe, ſays he, are my charms, and the magic I uſe in cultivating my land. I cannot, ſays he, ſet before you my toil, my watchings and my labour by day and night. . . . He was unanimouſly acquitted.

There is no perſon but muſt be ſenſibly touched upon the bare reading of this, with the beauty of that anſwer; "Theſe, O Romans, are my charms!" But in what then does that beauty conſiſt? Is there any extraordinary thought in thoſe few words; any ſhining expreſſion, bold metaphor, or ſublime figure? There is nothing of all this. 'Tis only the natural and honeſt ſimplicity of the anſwer drawn from nature itſelf, that pleaſes and charms. If we ſubſtituted the wittieſt and moſt florid phraſes that can be conceived, in the room of thoſe few, plain, and homely words, we ſhould deprive the peaſant's anſwer of all its beauty. Thus, according to the ſame [*o*] Pliny, Nero, who from an ill taſte, preferred what was brilliant to ſimplicity, ſpoiled one of the fineſt ſtatues of Lyſippus, by ordering it to be gilt, becauſe it was made of braſs. But it was afterwards

[*n*] Inſtrumentum ruſticum omne in forum attulit, et adduxit filiam validam, atque (ut ait Piſo) bene curatam ac veſtitam, ferramenta egregie facta, graves ligones, vomeres ponderoſos, boves ſaturos.

[*o*] Plin. 34. c. 8.

terwards found neceſſary to take off the gilding, (it having ſpoiled all the beauty of the artiſt) and by that means the ſtatue recovered its former value.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Of the SUBLIME.

THE *ſublime*, or marvellous, is that which conſtitutes the grand real eloquence, M. de la Mothe defines it thus, in the diſcourſe prefixed to his odes: "I believe, *ſays he*, the ſublime is nothing but the true, "and the new, united in a grand idea, and expreſſed "with eloquence and brevity." He afterwards aſſigns the reaſon of every branch of this definition. The firſt paſſage is well worth reading, and contains very judicious reflections. I am, however, in doubt whether the laſt part of this definition be entirely juſt; *expreſſed with elegance and brevity*. Are theſe two qualities then ſo eſſential to the *ſublime*, that it cannot ſubſiſt without them? I thought elegance ſo far from being the proper characteriſtic of the ſublime, that it was often the reverſe of it; and I own, I diſcover nothing of it in the two examples cited by M. de la Mothe: one of them is out of Moſes; "God "ſaid, Let there be light, and there was light;" the other from Homer; Great God, give us but day, and then fight againſt us. As to brevity, it is ſometimes neceſſary to the ſublime, when it conſiſts in a ſhort and lively thought, as in the former examples; but in my opinion, it does not conſtitute its eſſence [*p*]. There are a great many paſſages in Demoſthenes and Cicero, which are very extenſive and much amplified, and yet very ſublime, though no brevity appears in them. I uſe the freedom which M. de la Mothe gives his readers in the place in queſtion, and only point out my doubts,

[*p*] Probably it is not that ſpecies of the ſublime which is defined in this place.

doubts, ſubmitting them to his better underſtanding. The excellent treatiſe of Longinus upon this ſubject, would alone be ſufficient to form the taſte of youth. I propoſe little more in this place, than to draw ſome reflections from it, which may ſerve as ſo many rules and principles.

Boileau aſſerts, that Longinus does not underſtand by the ſublime, what the orator calls the ſublime ſtile, but that *extraordinary*, that *marvellous* which ſtrikes in diſcourſe, and gives a work that force which raviſhes and tranſports. The ſublime ſtile, ſays he, always requires grand expreſſions; but the ſublime may be formed in a ſingle thought, a ſingle figure, a ſingle turn of words. Without entering upon an examination of this remark, which admits of ſeveral difficulties, I think it ſufficient to obſerve, that by the ſublime, I here underſtand, as well that which is more amplified and interwoven with the body of the oration, as that which is more conciſe, and conſiſts in lively and moving ſtrokes; becauſe I find equally in both kinds, a manner of thinking and expreſſion, great and noble, which is the eſſence of the ſublime.

I. The plain ſtile of which I treated at firſt, though it be perfect in its kind, and often full of inimitable graces, is proper for inſtructing, proving, and even for pleaſing; but it does not produce any of thoſe great effects, without which Cicero (*q*) looks upon eloquence as trifling. As theſe plain and natural beauties have nothing of the grand, and as we ſee the orator always ſerene and calm, the equality of ſtile uſed in that kind of eloquence does not at all warm and raiſe the ſoul; whereas (*r*) the ſublime ſpecies produces a kind of admiration mixed with aſtoniſhment and ſurpriſe, which is quite different from merely to pleaſe or perſuade. We may ſay, with regard to perſuaſion, that, generally ſpeaking, it has no more power over us than what we

(*q*) Eloquentiam, quæ admirationem non habet, nullam judico. In Epiſt. ad Brut.

(*r*) Longin. cap. 1.

are willing to admit: but it is not ſo with the ſublime; it gives the diſcourſe a noble kind of vigour, an invincible force, which raviſhes the ſouls of all who hear it. ——(*s*) It tranſports the auditor by that grand and majeſtic tone, by thoſe quick and lively emotions, that force and vehemence which prevail in it, and leaves him, as it were, ſtruck down and dazzled with its thunder and lightning.

II. This (*t*) Quintilian has obſerved on occaſion of a bright and ſublime paſſage in Cicero's defence of Cornelius Balbus, (*u*) where he introduced a magnificent encomium on Pompey the Great. He was not only interrupted by acclamations, but by extraordinary clapping of hands, which ſeemed no way ſuitable to the dignity of the place: but this would not have happened, ſays our rhetorician, if his ſole view had been to inform the judges; and had expreſſed himſelf merely in a plain and elegant ſtile. It was, no doubt, the greatneſs, pomp, and ſplendor of his eloquence, that forced from his auditory all thoſe cries and clapping of hands, which were not free or voluntary, nor the conſequence of reflection, but the ſudden effect of a kind of tranſport and enthuſiaſm, which, in a manner, ſuperſeded their reaſon, and did not give them time to conſider what they did, or where they were.

III. This is properly the difference between the effects of the mediate or embelliſhed kind of eloquence, of which we ſhall preſently treat, and the ſublime. (*x*) The latter moves, agitates, and raiſes the ſoul above itſelf,

(*s*) Cap. 28.

(*t*) Nec fortibus modo, ſed etiam fulgentibus armis præliatus in cauſa eſt Cicero Cornelii: qui non aſſecutus eſſet docendo judicem tantum, et utiliter demum ac Latine perſpicueque dicendo, ut populus Romanus admirationem ſuam non acclamatione tantum, ſed etiam plauſu confiteretur. Sublimitas profecto, et magnificentia, et nitor, et auctoritas, expreſſit illum fragorem. Nec tam inſolita laus eſſet proſecuta dicentem, ſi uſitata et cæteris ſimilis fuiſſet oratio. Atque ego illos credo, qui aderant, nec ſenſiſſe quid facerent, nec ſponte judicioque plauſiſſe, ſed velut mente captos, et quo eſſent in loco ignaros, erupiſſe in hunc voluntatis affectum. Quintil. l. 8. c. 3.

(*u*) Cicero's oration for Corn. Balbus, n. 9. 16. (*x*) Longin. ch. 5.

itſelf, and inſtantly makes ſuch an impreſſion on the readers or hearers, as is difficult, if not impoſſible, to reſiſt: the remembrance of it continues a long time in our minds, and is not eaſily obliterated; whereas the common or ordinary ſtile, though full of beauties and elegancies, touches only the ſurface of the ſoul, as it were, and leaves it in its natural ſtate of tranquillity. In a word, the one pleaſes and ſoo hs, the other raviſhes and tranſports. (*y*) Thus we do not admire little rivulets, though their waters are clear, tranſparent, and even uſeful to us; but we are actually ſurpriſed, when we view the Danube, the Nile, the Rhine, and above all, the Ocean.

IV. The ſublime is diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral kinds: it is not always vehement and impetuous. Plato's ſtile is lofty, though it flows without rapidity or noiſe. (*z*) Demoſthenes is grand, though cloſe and conciſe; and ſo is Cicero, though diffuſive and copious. We may compare Demoſthenes, on account of his vehemency, rapidity, and force, and the violence with which he ravages and carries away all before him, to a ſtorm, to thunder. As to Cicero, he devours and conſumes, like a great conflagration, whatever comes in his way, with a fire that never goes out, but ſpreads itſelf variouſly in his work, and receives freſh ſtrength, as he goes on. To conclude, ſays Longinus, the ſublime of Demoſthenes is undoubtedly much more uſeful and efficacious in ſtrong exaggerations and violent paſſions, when we muſt aſtoniſh, as it were, the auditors. On the other hand, copiouſneſs is preferable to it, when we would, if I may uſe the figure, diffuſe an agreeable dew over the minds of the people.

V. The true ſublime, (*a*) ſays Longinus, conſiſts in a grand, noble, and magnificent way of thinking; and he conſequently ſuppoſes the mind of him who writes or ſpeaks, has nothing low or grovelling; but, on the contrary, that it is full of great ideas, generous ſentiments, and I know not what noble pride, that

(*y*) Chap. 29. (*z*) Chap. 10. (*a*) Chap. 7.

that appears in all his actions. This elevation of mind and ſtile, ought to be the image and effect of greatneſs of ſoul. Darius offered Alexander half Aſia with his daughter in marriage. "For my part, (ſays Parmenio,) "if I were Alexander, I would accept theſe offers: "And I, (replies Alexander,) if I were Parmenio." Could any man but Alexander have made ſuch an anſwer?

I ſhall here give ſome examples of ſublime thoughts, which will much better explain the beauty and characteriſtics of them, than any precepts.

(*b*) Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius æra. . . .
Orabunt cauſas melius, &c.
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.
Hæ tibi erunt artes; paciſque imponere morem,
Parcere ſubjectis, et debellare ſuperbos.

That is,

"Let others better mould the running maſs
"Of metals, and inform the breathing braſs,
"And ſoften into fleſh a marble face:
"Plead better at the bar, &c.
"But Rome, 'tis thine alone, with awful ſway
"To rule mankind, and make the world obey;
"Diſpoſing peace and war thy own majeſtic way.
"To tame the proud, the fetter'd ſlave to free;
"Theſe are imperial arts, and worthy thee!

DRYDEN.

(*c*) Et cuncta terrarum ſubacta
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.

"I ſee the world obey;
"All yield and own great Cæſar's ſway,
"Beſide the ſtubborn Cato's haughty ſoul."

CREECH.

M. Peliſſon ſpeaks thus in his elogium on the king: "Here he aboliſhed duelling. . . . Here he knew how to "pardon our faults, to bear with our weakneſſes, and to "deſcend from the higheſt point of his glory, to the "loweſt

(*b*) Æn. lib. 6. v. 847, &c. (*c*) Horat. Od. 1. lib. 2.

" loweſt of our intereſts. He is every thing to his peo-
" ple, a general, legiſlator, judge, maſter, benefactor,
" father; that is to ſay, truly a King."

(*d*) " Every thing was God, God himſelf excepted:
" and the world, which God had made to ſhew his
" power, ſeemed now a temple of idols.

" There were about five hundred years to the com-
" ing of the Meſſias. God inveſted the majeſty of his
" Son with the power of ſilencing the prophets during
" all that time, in order to keep his people in expectati-
" on of him who was to be the accompliſhment of all
" their oracles."

(*e*) Que peuvent contre lui (*contre Dieu*) tous les rois
de la terre?
En vain ils s'uniroient pour lui faire la guerre.
Pour diſſiper leur ligue il n'a qu'à ſe montrer.
Il parle, et dans la poudre il les fait tous rentrer.
Au ſeul ſon de ſa voix la mer fuit, le ciel tremble,
Il voit comme un néant tout l'univers enſemble.
Et les foibles mortels, vains jouets du trépas,
Sont tous devant ſes yeux comme s'ils n'étoient pas.

Thus Engliſhed:

" What can all earthly monarchs againſt God?
" Vainly the join to war againſt his might.
" If he but ſhew himſelf, he breaks their leagues.
" He ſpeaks, and inſtantly they fall to duſt.
" The univerſe is nothing in his ſight.
" The ocean flies, earth trembles at his voice,
" And inſect men, pale death's fantaſtic ſport,
" Are all before him, as though they were not."

This other paſſage in the ſame poet is no leſs ſublime, though in one verſe:

Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et n'ai point d'autre crainte.

Engliſhed,

" Abner, I fear my God, and him alone."

In

(*d*) Boſſuet hiſt. univ. (*e*) Rac. Eſth.

In all theſe places, the ſublime reſults from the nobleneſs and greatneſs of the thoughts; but it muſt be owned, that what is ſaid of God, obſcures all the reſt: and, indeed, it is fit that every thing ſhould diſappear, and be as nothing before him.

VI. The majeſty of the thoughts is generally followed by that of the words, which in their turn, contribute very much to the ſublimity of the thoughts (*f*). But we muſt be very careful not to take for ſublime, a ſeeming greatneſs, generally founded on lofty expreſſions, thrown together at a venture; and which, when cloſely examined, are no more than an empty aſſemblage of ſwelling words (*g*), rather to be contemned than admired. Indeed, inflation is as vicious in diſcourſe as in the natural body. It has only a falſe and deceitful outſide; but within it is hollow and empty..... This fault is not eaſily avoided; for, ſince we naturally ſeek after the grand in every thing, and are particularly afraid of being charged with dryneſs, or want of force in writing, it happens, I know not how, that moſt people fall into this vice, founded upon this common maxim,

"Dans un noble projet on tombe noblement."

"'Tis great to fall in great attempts."

(*h*) It is a difficult taſk to ſtop where we ought, as Cicero does, who, according to (*i*) Quintilian, never ſoars too high; or as Virgil, who is ſober even in his enthuſiaſm.... Thoſe Latin declaimers, whoſe ſentiments are taken notice of by Seneca the father, on occaſion of Alexander's deliberating whether he ſhould carry his conqueſts beyond the ocean, are extravagant. Some of theſe ſay (*k*), that Alexander ſhould content himſelf with conquering where the planet

(*f*) Longin. chap. 5. (*g*) Ch. 2. (*h*) Le P. Bouhours.
(*i*) Non ſupra modum elatus Tullius. Quintil. 10.
(*k*) Satis ſit haſtenus viciſſe Alexandro, qua mundo lucere ſatis eſt.

planet of the day is content to ſhine (*l*); that it is time for Alexander to ceaſe his conqueſts, where the world ceaſes to be, and the ſun to give its light (*m*). Others, that fortune aſſigned the ſame limits to his victories, as nature aſſigned to the world; that Alexander (*n*) is great in compariſon of the world, and the world little in compariſon of Alexander; (*o*) that there is nothing beyond Alexander, no more than beyond the ocean.

What a certain hiſtorian ſays of Pompey, is ſcarce leſs extravagant than the paſſages above cited. (*p*) "Such, "ſays he, was the end of Pompey, after three conſul-"ſhips, and as many triumphs, or rather, after ſubduing "the world; fortune being ſo inconſiſtent with herſelf, "with regard to this great man, that the earth, which "before did not ſuffice for his victories, was now want-"ing to him for a grave."

The following paſſage in Malherbe, is ſtill more extravagant; he ſpeaks of St. Peter's repentance.

C'eſt alors que ſes cris en tonnere s'éclattent.
Ses ſoupirs ſe font vents qui les chênes combattent:
Et ſes pleurs qui tantôt deſcendoient mollement,
Reſſemblent un torrent qui des hautes montagnes
Ravageant et noiant les voiſines campagnes,
Veut que tout l'univers ne ſoit qu'un élément.

Thus Engliſhed,

"Then Peter's moan is like the thunder's voice,
"His ſighs are winds, and rend the ſturdieſt oaks.
"His tears, which ſilently ſtole down his cheek,
"Now are like torrents, which, from higheſt mountains
"Ruſhing,

(*l*) Tempus eſt Alexandrum cum orbe et cum ſole deſinere.
(*m*) Eundem fortuna victoriæ tuæ, quem natura, finem facit
(*n*) Alexander orbi magnus eſt: Alexandro orbis anguſtus eſt.
(*o*) Non magis quicquam ultra Alexandrum novimus, quam ultra oceanum. Suaſor. 1.
(*p*) Hic poſt tres conſulatus, et totidem triumphos, domitumque terrarum orbem, vitæ fuit exitus; in tantum in illo viro à ſe diſcordante fortuna, ut cui modò ad victoriam terra defuerat, deeſſet ad ſepulturam. Vell. Paterc. lib. 2.

" Ruſhing, drown all the country in their courſe,
" As once again to deluge all the globe."

This excellent poet viſibly departs from himſelf in this place, and ſhews us how eaſy it is for bombaſt to uſurp the place of the grand and ſublime. This piece was, no doubt, writ in Malherbe's youth, and ſeems unworthy of a place amongſt his other poems.

VII. (*q*) Figures are not the leaſt part of the ſublime, and they give the greateſt vivacity to a diſcourſe. Demoſthenes endeavouring to juſtify his conduct after the loſs of the battle of Cheronea, and to revive the courage of the Athenians, who were caſt down and frighted at that defeat, tells them, " No, gentlemen, you have not " erred. And this I ſwear, by the ſhades of thoſe il- " luſtrious men who fell for the ſame glorious cauſe in " the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before Platea." He might have barely ſaid, that the example of thoſe great men juſtified their conduct; but by changing the natural air of the proofs, into that grand and pathetic manner of affirming by ſuch new and extraordinary oaths, he raiſes thoſe ancient citizens above the condition of mere mortals; he inſpires his auditors with the ſpirit and ſentiments of thoſe renowned deceaſed perſons; and equals, in ſome meaſure, the battle they loſt againſt Philip, with the victories formerly gained at Marathon and Salamis.

(*r*) Cicero imputes the death of Clodius to the juſt anger of the gods, who at length revenged their temples and altars, which the crimes of that impious wretch had profaned. He does it after a very ſublime manner, by appealing to the altars and the gods, and making uſe of the loftieſt figures in rhetoric. (*s*) " Albani " tumuli

(*q*) Longin. ch. 14 (*r*) Cicero's oration for Milo, 85

(*s*) I call to witneſs, and implore you, holy hills of Alba, which Clodius has profaned! venerable woods, which he has cut down! ſacred altars! the band of our union, and ancient as Rome itſelf, upon the ruins of which

" tumuli atque luci vos, inquam, imploro atque obteſt-
" or; voſque Albanorum obrutæ aræ, ſacrorum populi
" Romani ſociæ et æquales, quas ille præceps amentia,
" cæſis proſtratiſque ſanctiſſimis lucis, ſubſtructionum
" inſanis molibus oppreſſerat: veſtræ tum aræ, veſtræ
" religiones viguerunt, veſtra vis valuit, quam ille omni
" ſcelere polluerat. Tuque, ex tuo edito monte, Lati-
" alis ſancte Jupiter, cujus ille lacus, nemora, fineſque,
" ſæpe omni nefario ſtrupro et ſcelere macularet, ali-
" quando ad eum puniendum oculos aperuiſti. Vobis
" illæ, vobis, veſtro in conſpectu, feræ, ſed juſtæ ta-
" men et debitæ pœnæ ſolutæ ſunt."

(*t*) M. Flechier deſcribes a death very different from that of Clodius in a very ſublime manner, by employing alſo the moſt lively figures. " O terrible God, but juſt
" in your counſels over the children of men, you diſpoſe
" both of the victors and victories! To accompliſh
" your will, and make us fear your judgments, your
" power overthrows thoſe whom your power had raiſ-
" ed. You ſacrifice great victims to your ſovereign
" greatneſs; and you ſtrike, when you think fit, thoſe
" illuſtrious heads which you have ſo often crowned."
This paſſage is certainly great, and would perhaps be more ſo, if it had fewer antitheſes.

" Do not expect, gentlemen, to ſee me open a tragical
" ſcene in this place, which ſhall repreſent this great man
" ſtretched out and extended on his own trophies; that I
" ſhall uncover the pale and bloody corſe, near which
" the thunder that ſtruck him ſtill ſmokes; that I ſhall
" make his blood cry out like Abel's; and that I am ſet-
" ting

which that abandoned wretch had raiſed thoſe enormous piles of building. . . . your religion violated, your worſhip aboliſhed, your myſteries polluted, your gods treated outrageouſly, have at length diſplayed their power and vengeance. And thou, divine Jupiter Latialis, whoſe lakes and woods he had ſo often defiled with ſo many crimes and impurities, thou haſt, at laſt, from the ſummit of thy holy hill, looked down upon this wicked wretch, in order to puniſh him. It is to thee, and before thine eyes: it is to thee that a ſlow, but juſt vengeance, has ſacrificed this victim, whoſe blood was thy due.

(*t*) M. Turenne's funeral oration.

" ting before your eyes the ſad images of your weep-
" ing religion and country."

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Of the MEDIATE *Kind.*

BEtween the two ſpecies of eloquence, of which we have hitherto treated, *viz.* the ſimple and the ſublime, there is a third, which holds, as it were, the mean, and may be called the embelliſhed and florid kind; becauſe in this, eloquence diſplays her greateſt ſplendor and beauty. It therefore remains for us, to make ſome reflections on this kind of ſtile, which may aſſiſt youth in diſcerning between true and ſolid ornaments, and thoſe that have nothing but falſe glitter and empty ſhew. I ſhall give no examples of this kind, becauſe thoſe I cited before, when I treated of compoſition, and many of thoſe I ſhall cite hereafter, are of the florid kind, and may ſerve for the preſent ſubject.

I. Ornaments in eloquence are certain turns and modes of ſpeech which contribute to make an oration more agreeable, more engaging, and even more perſuaſive. The orator does not ſpeak only to be underſtood; for then it would be ſufficient to relate things in the moſt ſimple manner, provided it was clear and intelligible. His principal view is to convince and to move, in which he cannot ſucceed, if he does not find out the art of pleaſing. He endeavours to reach the underſtanding and the heart; but he cannot do this otherwiſe than by paſſing through the imagination, which conſequently muſt be addreſſed in its own language, *viz.* that of figures and images, becauſe nothing can ſtrike or move it but ſenſible objects. This made (*u*) Quintilian ſay, that pleaſure

(*u*) Multum ad fidem adjuvat audientis voluptas. Quintil. l. 5. c. 14. Neſcio quomodo etiam credit facilius quæ audienti jucunda ſunt, et voluptate ad fidem ducitur. Lib. 4. cap. 2.

pleaſure is a help to perſuaſion, and that the auditors are always diſpoſed to believe what they find agreeable. It is not enough then, that the diſcourſe be clear and intelligible, or abounding with a great number of reaſons, and juſt thoughts. Eloquence adds to that perſpicuity and juſtneſs, a certain beauty and luſtre, which we call ornament, whereby the orator ſatisfies both the underſtanding and the imagination. He gives to the former, truth, juſtneſs of thoughts, and proofs; which are, as it were, its natural nouriſhment; and preſents to the latter, beauty, delicacy, the grace of expreſſions and turns, which belong more peculiarly to it.

II. (*x*) Some people are averſe to all ornaments of diſcourſe, and think no eloquence natural but that in which the ſimple ſtile reſembles the language of converſation; theſe look upon every thing as ſuperfluous that is not abſolutely neceſſary; and think it a diſhonour to truth to give her a foreign dreſs, which they fancy ſhe does not want, and can ſerve no other end than to disfigure her. If we were to ſpeak before philoſophers only, or people free from all paſſion and prejudice, this notion might perhaps appear reaſonable. But it is far otherwiſe; and if the orator wanted art to win his auditors by the pleaſure he gives them, and to lead them with a kind of gentle violence, juſtice and truth would often be born down by the induſtrious arts of wickedneſs. (*y*) This, Rutilius, a man of the greateſt juſtice and virtue at Rome, found to be true in the judgment

(*x*) Quid m nullam eſſe naturalem eloquentiam putant, niſi quæ ſit quotidiano ſermoni ſimillima,—contenti promere animi voluntatem, nihilque accerſiti et elaborati requirentes: quicquid huc ſit adjectum, id eſſe affectationis, et ambitioſæ in loquendo jactantiæ, remotumque à veritate. Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 10.

(*y*) Cùm eſſet ille vir (Rutilius) exemplum, ut ſcitis, innocentiæ,—noluit ne ornatiùs quidem aut liberiùs cauſam dici ſuam, quàm ſimplex ratio veritatis ferebat.——Quod ſi tibi, Craſſe, pro P. Rutilio, non philoſophorum more, ſed tuo, licuiſſet dicere; quamvis ſcelerati illi fuiſſent, ſicuti fuerunt peſtiferi cives ſuppliciiſque digni, tamen omnem eorum importunitatem ex intimis mentibus evelliſſet vis orationis tuæ. Nunc talis vir amiſſus eſt, dum cauſa ita dicitur, ut ſi in illa commentitia Platonis civitate res ageretur. 1. de Orat. n. 229, 230.

ment given againſt him; becauſe he would employ no other arms for his defence but naked truth, as if he had been an inhabitant of Plato's imaginary commonwealth. It would not have been ſo, ſays Anthony to Craſſus, in one of Cicero's dialogues; had you defended him; not after the manner of the philoſophers, but your own; and had the judges been ever ſo corrupt, your victorious eloquence would have ſurmounted their wickedneſs, and preſerved ſo worthy a citizen from their injuſtice.

III. 'Tis this talent of embelliſhing a diſcourſe, that diſtinguiſhes between a well ſpoken and an eloquent man. [*y*] The former is contented with ſaying what it is neceſſary to ſay upon any ſubject; but to be truly eloquent, we muſt expreſs it with all the proper graces and ornaments it will admit. The well-ſpoken man, that is he who expreſſes himſelf in a clear and ſolid manner only, leaves his auditors cold and ſedate; and does not raiſe thoſe ſentiments of admiration and ſurpriſe, which, [*z*] in Cicero's opinion, can only be effected by a diſcourſe adorned and enriched with whatever is moſt ſhining in eloquence, as well in regard to thoughts as expreſſions.

IV. There is one kind of eloquence which is wholly adapted to oſtentation, having no other end than to pleaſe the auditors; ſuch as academical orations, compliments to potentates, ſome ſort of panegyrics, and the like, [*a*] where liberty is given to diſplay all the ſplendor

[*y*] M. Antonius ait. (*l.* 1. de Orat. n. 94) à ſe diſertos viſos eſſe multos, eloquentem autem neminem. Diſertis ſatis putat, dicere quæ oporteat; ornate autem dicere, proprium eſſe eloquentiſſimi. Quintil. proœm. l. 8.

[*z*] In quo igitur homines exhorreſcunt? Quem ſtupefacti dicentem audiunt? . . . qui diſtincte, qui explicate, qui abundanter, qui illuminate et rebus et verbis dicunt: id eſt, quod dico ornate. L. 3. de Orat. n. 53.

[*a*] Illud genus oſtentationi compoſitum ſolam petit audientium voluptatem, ideoqe omnes dicendi artes aperit, ornatumque orationis exponit. Quare quicquid erit ſententiis populare, verbis nitidum, figuris jucundum, tranſlationibus magnificum, compoſitione elaboratum, velut inſtitor quidam eloquentiæ, intuendum et pene pertractandum dabit. Quintil. l. 8. c. 3.

ſplendor and pageantry of art; ingenious thoughts, ſtrong expreſſions, agreeable turns and figures, bold metaphors; in a word, the orator [*b*] may not only exhibit whatever is moſt magnificent and ſhining in art, but even make a parade and ſhew of it, in order to ſatisfy the auditor's expectation, who comes with no other view, but to hear a fine diſcourſe, and whoſe good opinion we can gain by no other means than by the force of elegance and beauty.

V. [*c*] It is however neceſſary, even in this kind, that the ornaments be diſtributed with a kind of prudence and moderation, and a particular care taken to diverſify them abundantly. Cicero inſiſts very much on this, as one of the moſt conſiderable rules in eloquence. We muſt, ſays he, make choice of an agreeable ſpecies of writing, which may pleaſe the audience; but ſo as not to create or give them any diſguſt: for this effect is generally produced by thoſe things which ſtrike us at firſt with a lively ſenſe of pleaſure, without our being very well able to give any reaſon for it. He gives us many examples of this, from painting, muſic, odours, liquors, meats; and after laying down this maxim, that great pleaſures are apt to be ſucceeded by diſtaſte and loathing, and that the ſweeteſt things become ſooneſt taſteleſs and

[*b*] In hoc genere, permittitur adhibere plus cultus, omnemque artem, quæ latere plerumque in judiciis debet, non confiteri modo, ſed oſtentare etiam hominibus in hoc advocatis. Quintil. l. 12. c. 11.

[*c*] Ut conſperſa ſit quaſi verborum ſententiarumque floribus, id non debet eſſe fuſum æquabiliter per omnem orationem. Genus dicendi eſt eligendum, quod maxime teneat eos qui audiant, et quod non ſolum delectet, ſed etiam ſine ſatietate delectet. . . . Difficile enim dictu eſt, quænam cauſa ſit, cur ea quæ maxime ſenſus noſtros impellunt voluptate, et ſpecie prima acce rime commoveant, ab iis celerrime faſtidio quodam et ſatietate abalienemur. . . . Omnibus in rebus voluptatibus maximis faſtidium finitimum eſt: quo hoc minus in oratione miremur, in qua vel ex poetis, vel ex oratoribus, poſſumus judicare, concinnam, diſtinctam, ornatam, feſtivam, ſine intermiſſione, ſine reprehenſione, ſine varietate, quamvis claris ſit coloribus picta vel poeſis vel oratio, non poſſe in delectatione eſſe diuturna. Habeat itaque illa in dicendo admiratio et ſumma laus umbram aliquam et receſſum; quo magis id, quod erit illuminatum, extare atque eminere videatur. 3. de Orat. n. 26, 97, 98, 100, 101.

and inſipid; he concludes from thence, that a work, whether in proſe or verſe, will not pleaſe long, if it be too uniform, and always in the ſame ſtrain, whatever graces or elegance it may boaſt in other reſpects. An oration which is every where ſet off and decked out without the leaſt mixture or variety; where every thing ſtrikes and glitters, or rather dazzles, as it were, than creates true admiration; will grow tedious and tire us with too many beauties, and diſpleaſe at length by pleaſing too much. There muſt be ſhadows in eloquence, as well as in painting, to ſoften attention, relieve the mind, and add boldneſs to the figures; for which reaſon all muſt not be light.

VI. If this be true, even in that kind of orations which are only intended for parade and ceremony, how much more exactly muſt the precept be obſerved, in thoſe that treat of ſerious and important affairs; ſuch as the eloquence of the pulpit and the bar? When an affair relates to the eſtates, repoſe, and honour of families, and, what is yet much more conſiderable, to eternal ſalvation; is the orator allowed to be ſolicitous about his reputation, or to endeavour to diſplay his wit? (*d*) Not that we pretend to exclude the graces and beauties of ſtile from theſe orations; but the ornaments which are allowed to be employed in them, muſt be very ſerious, modeſt, and ſevere; (*e*) and ariſe rather from the matter itſelf, than from the genius of the orator. I ſhall have occaſion to treat this ſubject in a more extenſive manner hereafter; (*f*) nor can it be too often repeated, that the ornaments of ſuch diſcourſes muſt be manly, noble, and chaſte. The kind of eloquence proper for theſe muſt be void of all paint and affectation; muſt ſhine however, but with health, if we may

(*d*) Neque hoc eo pertinet, ut in his nullus ſit ornatus, ſed uti preſſior et ſeverior. Quintil. l. 8. c 3.

(*e*) Omnia potius à cauſa, quam ab oratore, profecta credantur. Quintil. l. 4. c. 2.

(*f*) Sed hic ornatus (repetam enim) virilis, fortis, et ſanctus ſit: nec effeminatam levitatem, nec fuco eminentem colorem amet. Sanguine et viribus niteat. Quintil. l. 8. c. 3.

may uſe the expreſſion, and owe its beauty only to its vigour: (*g*) for it muſt be with orations of this kind, as with the human body, which derives its real graces from its good conſtitution; whereas, paint and artifice only ſpoil the face, by the very pains taken to beautify it.

VII. (*h*) A maxim of great importance, which is verified both in the works of nature and thoſe of art, is, that thoſe things which are moſt uſeful in themſelves have generally moſt dignity and gracefulneſs. (*i*) Let us caſt our eye a little on the ſymmetry and order of the different parts of a building, or a ſhip; thoſe which form the ſtructure of man's body, and that harmony in the univerſe, which we are never weary of admiring; we ſhall perceive, that each of thoſe parts, the benefit or neceſſity of which alone might ſeem to have given the idea of it, contribute alſo very much to the beauty of the whole. The ſame thing may be ſaid of an oration. That which conſtitutes ſtrength, forms its beauty; (*k*) and real beauty is never ſeparate from utility.

VIII. This maxim may be very uſeful in diſtinguiſhing real and natural graces from ſuch as are fictitious and foreign; it is only examining if they are uſeful or neceſſary to the ſubject to be treated. (*l*) There is

(*g*) Corpora ſana et integri ſanguinis, et exercitatione firmata, ex iiſdem his ſpecimen accipiunt, ex quibus vires: namque et colorata, et adſtricta, et lacertis expreſſa ſunt. Sed eadem ſi quis vulſa atque fucata muliebriter comat, fœdiſſima ſint ipſo formæ labore. Quintil. procem. l. 8.

(*h*) Ut in pleriſque rebus incredibiliter hoc natura eſt ipſa fabricata, ſic in oratione, ut ea, quæ maximam in ſe utilitatem continerent, eadem haberent plurimum vel dignitatis, vel ſæpe etiam venuſtatis. De Orat. n. 178.

(*i*) Singula hanc habent in ſpecie venuſtatem, ut non ſolum ſalutis, ſed etiam voluptatis cauſa inventa eſſe videantur. . . . Habent non plus utilitatis, quam dignitatis. . . . Capitolii faſtigium illud, et cæterarum ædium, non venuſtas, ſed neceſſitas ipſa frabricat eſt. N. 180.

Hoc in omnibus item partibus orationis evenit, ut utilitatem, ac prope neceſſitatem, ſuavitas quædam ac lepos conſequatur. N 181.

(*k*) Nunquam vera ſpecies ab utilitate dividitur. Q. l. 8. c. 3.

(*l*) Vitioſum eſt et corruptum dicendi genus, quod aut verborum licentia reſultat, aut puerilibus ſententiolis laſcivit, aut immodico tumore turgeſcit, aut inanibus locis bacchatur, aut caſuris ſi leviter excutiantur floſculis netet, aut præcipitia pro ſublimibus habet. Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.

is a flaſhy ſtile, which impoſes upon us by an empty gingle of words, or is always in ſearch of little childiſh cold thoughts; is mounted upon ſtilts, or loſes itſelf in common places void of ſenſe; or ſhines with ſome ſmall flowers, which fall as we begin to ſhake them; or ſkips, as it were, to the clouds, in order to catch the ſublime. But all this is far from true eloquence, it being nothing but tawdry and ridiculous parade; and to make youth ſenſible of this, they muſt attend very carefully to that exact ſeverity of good writers, ancient or modern, who never depart from their ſubject, and are never in extremes. (*m*) For theſe falſe graces and falſe beauties vaniſh, when ſolid ones are propoſed to them.

IX. I would willingly compare the graces of a florid ſtile, with reſpect to the beauties of one more nervous and juſt, to what Pliny has obſerved of flowers when he compares them to trees. (*n*) Nature, ſays he, ſeems as if ſhe intended to divert, and, as it were, ſport in that variety of flowers with which ſhe adorns the fields and gardens; an inconceivable variety, and above all deſcription, becauſe nature is much more capable to paint, than man is to ſpeak. But as ſhe produces flowers for pleaſure only, ſo ſhe often affords them only a day's duration; whereas ſhe gives a great number of years, and ſometimes whole ages, to trees which are intended for man's nouriſhment, and the neceſſities of life; in order, no doubt, to intimate to us, that whatever is moſt ſplendid ſoon paſſes away, and preſently loſes its vivacity and luſtre. It is eaſy to apply this thought to the beauties

(*m*) Evaneſcunt hæc atque emoriuntur comparatione meliorum: ut lana tincta fuco citra purpuram placet. . . . Si vero judicium his corruptis acrius adhibeas; jam illud quod fefellerat, exuat mentitum colorem, et quadam vix enarrabili fœditate palleſcat. Ibid.

(*n*) Inenarrabilis florum varietas: quando nulli poteſt facilius eſſe loqui, quam rerum naturæ pingere, laſcivienti præſertim, et in magno gaudio fertilitatis tam varie ludenti. Quippe reliqua uſus alimentique gratia genuit, ideoque ſecula annoſque tribuit iis. Flores vero odoreſque in diem gignit: magna (ut palam eſt) admonitione hominum, quæ ſpectatiſſime floreant, celerrime marceſcere. Plin. hiſt. nat. l. 21. c. 1.

ries of ſtile, whereof we are now ſpeaking, which we know the orators generally call (*o*) flowers.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

General Reflections on the three Kinds of ELOQUENCE.

IT would be of no advantage to examine which of theſe three kinds is fitteſt for an orator, ſince he muſt poſſeſs them all; (*p*) and that his ability conſiſts in making a proper uſe of them, according to the different ſubjects he undertakes to treat; ſo as to be able to temper the one with the other, ſometimes ſoftening ſtrength with beauty, and ſometimes exalting beauty with ſtrength. (*q*) Beſides, theſe three kinds have ſomething common in their diverſity of ſtile, which unites them; that is, a ſolid and natural taſte of beauty, abhorrent of paint and affectation.

But I cannot help obſerving, that this florid and ſhining eloquence, which ſparkles as it were throughout with wit, is immoderately laviſh of its graces and beauties, upon which we generally ſet ſo great a value, and often prefer to all others; and which ſeems to be ſo agreeable to the taſte of our age, though almoſt unknown to the judicious writers of antiquity, is, nevertheleſs, of no great uſe, and is confined within very narrow bounds. This kind of eloquence is, certainly, no way ſuitable to the pulpit or the bar: neither is proper for pious or moral ſubjects, or books of controverſy, learn-

(*o*) Ut conſperſa ſit verborum ſententiarumque floribus, id non debet eſſe fuſum æquabiliter per omnem orationem. 3. de Orat. n. 96.

(*p*) Magni judicii, ſummæ etiam facultatis eſſe debebit moderator ille, et quaſi temperator hujus tripartitæ varietatis. Nam et judicabit quid cuique opus ſit; et poterit. Quocumque modo poſtulabit cauſa, dicere. Orat. n. 70.

(*q*) Si habitum etiam orationis et quaſi colorem aliquem requiritis, eſt plena quædam, et tamen teres: et tenuis, et non ſine nervis ac viribus, et ea, quæ particeps utriuſque generis, quadam mediocritate laudatur. His tribus figuris inſidere quidam venuſtatis non fuco illitus, ſed ſanguine diffuſus debet color. 3. de Orat. n. 119.

ed diſſertations, controverſies, apologies, nor for almoſt an infinite number of other works of literature Hiſtory, which ſhould be written in a plain and natural ſtile, would no way agree with one ſo affected; and it would be ſtill more intolerable in the epiſtolary way, of which the chief characteriſtic is ſimplicity. To what uſe then, ſhall we reduce this ſo much boaſted kind of eloquence? I ſhall leave the reader to examine the places and occaſions where it may be reaſonably admitted; and to conſider whether it ought to engroſs our application and eſteem.

Not that all thoſe writings I have mentioned, are void of ornament, of which Tully is a ſtrong proof; and he alone is ſufficient to form us for every ſpecies of eloquence. His epiſtles may give us a juſt idea of the epiſtolary ſtile: Some of theſe are merely complimentary; others of recommendation, acknowledgment, and praiſe. Some are gay and facetious, in which he wantons with a great deal of wit; others again grave and ſerious, when he diſcuſſes ſome important queſtion. In ſome he treats of public affairs, and theſe, in my opinion, are not the leaſt beautiful. (*r*) Thoſe, for example, in which he gives an account of his conduct in the government of his province; firſt to the ſenate and people of Rome, and afterwards to Cato in particular, are a perfect model of the clearneſs, order, and conciſeneſs which ſhould be predominant in memoirs and relations; and we muſt particularly remark the dexterous and inſinuating method he employs in thoſe epiſtles, to conciliate the good opinion of Cato, and to make him favourable to him, in the demand he was to make of the honour of a triumph.

(*s*) His celebrated epiſtle to Lucceius, where he requeſts him to write the hiſtory of his conſulſhip, will ever be juſtly looked upon as a ſhining monument of his eloquence, and at the ſame time of his vanity. I have

(*r*) Epiſt. 2. & 4. lib. xiv. ad famil.
(*s*) Epiſt. 12. lib. v. ad famil.

have taken notice, in a another place, of his beautiful epiſtle to his brother Quintus, in which all the graces and refinements of art are comprized. His treatiſes of rhetoric and philoſophy are originals in their kind; and the laſt ſhews us how to treat the moſt ſubtle and knotty ſubjects with elegance and decorum. As to his harangues, they comprehend all the ſpecies of eloquence, the various ſorts of ſtile, the plain, the embelliſhed, and the ſublime.

What ſhall I ſay of the Greek authors? Is it not the peculiar character of Homer to excel no leſs in little than great things; and to unite with a marvellous ſublimity, a ſimplicity equally admirable? Is any ſtile more delicate and elegant, more harmonious and ſublime than Plato's? Was it without reaſon that (*t*) Demoſthenes held the firſt rank amongſt the crowd of orators at Athens in his time; and has been always conſidered as almoſt the ſtandard of eloquence? In a word, not to mention all the ancient hiſtorians, can any man of ſenſe be tired with reading Plutarch? Of all thoſe authors, therefore, who were ſo antiently and generally eſteemed, did one of them degenerate into points and witty conceits, ſhining thoughts, and far-fetched figures, and beauties induſtriouſly crowded upon each other? And how little, how jejune and childiſh does this ſtile, which is almoſt baniſhed from all ſerious diſcourſes, appear in compariſon of the noble ſimplicity, the wiſe greatneſs which characteriſe all good works, and are of uſe in all affairs, times and conditions?

But in order to judge of it in this manner, we need only conſult nature. It cannot be denied, but thoſe gardens ſo exactly trimmed and laid out; ſo enriched with whatever is ſplendid and magnificent in art; thoſe parterres, which are diſpoſed with ſuch a delicacy of taſte; thoſe fountains, caſcades, and little groves, are very pleaſing and agreeable. But will any com-

(*t*) Quorum longe princeps Demoſthenes, ac pene lex orandi fuit. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

pare all this with the magnificent proſpect which a (*u*) fine country preſents us with, where we ſcarce know what to admire moſt; whether the gentle current of a river that rolls its waters with majeſty; or thoſe large and agreeable meadows which the numerous herds continually grazing in them, almoſt animate; or the natural turf which ſeems to invite repoſe; (*x*) its lively verdure unprofaned by needleſs works of art; or thoſe rich hillocks, ſo marvellouſly variegated with houſes, trees, vineyards, and ſtill more, by its cultivated native graces; or thoſe high mountains, which ſeem to be loſt in the clouds; or, in a word, thoſe vaſt foreſts, whoſe trees, almoſt as ancient as the world, owe their beauty ſolely to him who created them? Such is the moſt florid ſtile, in compariſon of the grand and ſublime eloquence.

The celebrated Atticus, ſo well known by the epiſtles which Cicero wrote to him, walking with him in a very agreeable iſland near one of the country-houſes, in which that orator delighted *(y)* moſt, being the place of his nativity; ſays to him, as he was admiring the beauty of the country: What is the magnificence of the moſt ſtately houſe; halls paved with marble, gilded roofs, vaſt canals, which raiſe the admiration of others? How little and contemptible do all theſe appear, when we compare

(*u*) Terrra veſtita floribus, herbis, arboribus, frugibus. Quorum omnium incredibilis multitudo infatiabili varietate diſtinguitur. Adde huc fontium gelidas perennitates, liquores perlucidos amnium, riparum veſtitus viridiſſimos, ſpeluncarum concavas altitudines, ſaxorum aſperitatas, impendentium montium altitudines, immenſitateſque camporum. Lib. 2. de nat. deor. n. 98.

(*x*) Viridi ſi margine clauderet undas herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum. Juven. l. 1. ſat. 3.

(*y*) Hoc ipſo in loco . . . . ſcito me eſſe natum. Quare id eſt neſcio quid, et latet in animo ac ſenſu meo, quo me plus hic locus fortaſſe delectet. 2. de leg. n. 3.

Equidem, qui nunc primum huc venerim, ſatiari non queo: magnificaſque villas, et pavimenta marmorea, et laqueata tecta contemno. Ductus vero aquarum, quos iſti tubos et euripos vocant, quis non, cum hæc videat, irriſerit. Itaque, ut tu paulo ante lege et jure diſſerens, ad naturam referebas omnia, ſic in his ipſis rebus, quæ ad quietem animi delectationemque quæruntur, natura dominatur. Ibid, n. 2.

compare them with that iſland, that rivulet, and thoſe delightful rural ſcenes before our eyes? And he obſerves judiciouſly, that this opinion is noways the effect of a whimſical prepoſſeſſion, but founded in nature itſelf.

We muſt ſay the ſame of works of wit; and cannot repeat it too often to youth, to put them upon their guard againſt a vicious taſte of brilliant thoughts, witty and far-fetched turns, which ſeem to aim at ſuperiority, and have always foretold the approaching fall of eloquence. Quintilian had reaſon to ſay, that if he were (z) obliged to chuſe, either the ſimplicity of the ancients whilſt groſs, or the extravagant licentiouſneſs of the moderns, he would, without heſitation, prefer the former.

I ſhall conclude this article with ſome extracts from a diſcourſe, which, in my opinion, may be propoſed as a complete model of this noble and ſublime, and, at the ſame time, natural and unaffected eloquence, of which I ſhall endeavour to point out the characteriſtics here. This oration was ſpoke by M. Racine in the French academy, upon the admiſſion of two members, one of whom was Thomas Corneille's brother. M. Racine, after drawing a compariſon between the laſt Corneille and Æſchylus, Sophocles and Euripides, whom renowned Athens had honoured as much as it had Themiſtocles, Pericles, and Alcibiades, who were contemporaries with thoſe poets, proceeds thus:

"Yes, Sir, let ignorance deſpiſe eloquence and "poetry as much as it pleaſes, and treat great writers "as perſons unprofitable to the ſtate; we will not be "afraid of ſaying this in favour of learning, and of "this celebrated body of which you are now a mem-"ber; from the moment that ſublime geniuſes, which "far ſurpaſs the ordinary bounds of human nature, "diſtinguiſh and immortalize themſelves by ſuch maſ-"ter-pieces as thoſe of your brother; whatever ſtrange "inequality

(z) Si neceſſe ſit, veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim, quam iſtam novam licentiam. Quintil, l. 8. c. 5.

" inequality fortune may make between them and the " greateſt heroes, while they are living; yet after " their deaths, that difference ceaſes. Poſterity, who " are pleaſed and inſtructed by the works they left be- " hind them, makes no difficulty of putting them up- " on a level with whatever is more important amongſt " men; and of ranking the excellent poet with the " greateſt captain. The ſame age that is now ſo high- " ly magnified for bringing forth Auguſtus, boaſts no " leſs of producing Horace and Virgil. In like man- " ner, when poſterity will ſpeak with aſtoniſhment of " of the ſurpriſing victories, and all the great things " which will render ours the admiration of all future " ages; Corneille, (let us not doubt of it) Corneille " will have a place among all thoſe wonders. France " will remember with pleaſure, that the greateſt of her " poets flouriſhed in the reign of the greateſt of her " kings. They will likewiſe think it ſome addition to " the glory of our auguſt monarch, when they ſhall " be told, he eſteemed and honoured that excellent " genius with his favour and munificence; that even " two days before his death, and when he was juſt at " his laſt gaſp, he ſent him freſh proofs of his liberali- " ty; and that the laſt words of Corneille were ac- " knowledgments to *Lewis the Great.*"

M. de Bergeret, cabinet-ſecretary, having been received a member of the French academy the ſame day with M. Corneille, M. Racine pronounced a magnificent elogium on Lewis XIV. part of which I ſhall inſert in this place.

" Who could have ſaid in the beginning of the laſt " year, and even in this ſeaſon, when we ſaw ſo much " animoſity break out on all ſides; ſo many leagues " forming; and that ſpirit of diſcord and ſuſpicion " which kindled the war in the four quarters of Eu- " rope; who could have ſaid, that all would be peace- " able and quiet before the end of the ſpring? What " probability was their of diſſolving ſuch a number of

" confederacies

" confederacies in ſo ſhort a time? How was it poſſible
" to reconcile ſo many intereſts? How calm that crowd
" of ſtates and potentates, who were much more irri-
" tated againſt our power, than the ill treatment they
" pretended to have received? Would not one have
" thought that twenty years of negotiation would not
" have ſufficed for putting an end to all theſe differen-
" ces? The diet of Germany, which was to examine
" only a part of them, were no farther advanced than
" the preliminaries, after an application of three years.
" In the mean time, the King had reſolved in his cabi-
" net, that for the good of Chriſtendom, there ſhould
" be no war. The night before he was to ſet out for
" his army, he writes ſix lines, and ſends them to his
" ambaſſador at the Hague. Upon this the provinces
" entered into deliberation; the miniſters of the high
" allies aſſemble; every thing is in agitation, every
" thing in motion. Some will not comply with any
" thing demanded of them; others demand what has
" been taken from them; but all are determined not
" to lay down arms. The King in the mean time,
" cauſes Luxemburgh to be taken on the one ſide;
" and on the other marches in perſon to the gates of
" Mons. Here he ſends generals to his allies; there
" he orders the bombardment of Genoa. He forces
" Algiers to aſk pardon. He even applies himſelf to
" regulate the civil affairs of his kingdom; relieves
" the people, and gives them an anticipation of the
" fruits of peace, and at length finds his enemies, as
" he had foreſeen, after a great many conferences, pro-
" jects, and uſeleſs complaints, reduced to accept the
" very conditions he had offered them, without being
" able to retrench or add any thing to them; or, to
" ſpeak more properly, without being able, with all
" their efforts, to go one ſtep out of the narrow circle
" he had thought fit to preſcribe them."

Theſe two paſſages are certainly beautiful, grand, and ſublime. Every thing pleaſes, every thing ſtrikes,

but

but not with affected graces, exact antitheſes, or glaring thoughts; nothing of that kind is ſeen in them. It is the importance and greatneſs of the things in themſelves, and of ideas which tranſport, that conſtitute the character of true and perfect eloquence, ſuch as was always admired in Demoſthenes. The elogium of the King concludes with a grand thought, which leaves room to imagine infinitely more than it diſcovers, "without being able to go one ſtep out of the narrow "circle he had thought fit to preſcribe them." We imagine ourſelves preſent at the conference, where Popilius, that haughty Roman, having preſcribed terms of Peace to Antiochus, in the name of the ſenate; and obſerving that King endeavoured to elude them, incloſed him in a (*b*) circle which he made round him with a little ſtick he had in his hand; and obliged him to give him a poſitive anſwer, before he quitted it. This hiſtorical paſſage, which we ſhall leave the reader the pleaſure of applying, has much more grace and ornament, than if we had cited the place from which it was taken.

SECT. II.

What muſt chiefly be obſerved in READING *and* EXPLAINING *of* AUTHORS.

I will reduce theſe obſervations to ſeven or eight heads, *viz.* reaſoning and the proofs; the thoughts, the choice of words, the manner of placing them; the figures, certain oratorial precautions, and the paſſions. To theſe remarks I ſhall ſometimes add examples from the beſt authors, which will both illuſtrate the precepts, and teach the art of compoſing.

ARTICLE

(*b*) Popilius virga quam in manu gerebat, circumſcripſit regem, ac: *Priuſquam hoc circulo excedas*, inquit, *redde reſponſum ſenatui, quod referam.* Obſtupefactus tam violento imperio; parumper cùm hæſitaſſet: *Faciam*, inquit, *quod cenſet ſenatus.* Liv. lib. 45, n. 12.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

Of the REASONING *and* PROOFS.

THIS is the moſt neceſſary and the moſt indiſpenſible part of the oratorial art; being, as it were, the foundation of it, and upon which all the reſt may be ſaid to depend. For the expreſſions, the thoughts, figures, and all the other ornaments we ſhall ſpeak of hereafter, ſupport the proofs, and only are uſed to improve and place them in a clearer light. (*a*) They are to an oration, what the ſkin and the fleſh are to the body, which form its beauty and gracefulneſs, but not its ſtrength and ſolidity; they likewiſe cover and adorn the bones and nerves; but then they ſuppoſe theſe, and cannot ſupply their room (*b*). I don't deny but we muſt ſtudy to pleaſe, and, which is is more, to move the paſſions; but both will be effected with much more ſucceſs, when the orators are inſtructed and convinced; which cannot be effected but by the ſtrength of the reaſoning and the proofs.

Youth then muſt be particularly attentive to the proofs and reaſons, in examining a diſcourſe, harangue, or any other work; and muſt ſeparate them from all outward ſplendor with which they otherwiſe might ſuffer themſelves to be dazzled; let them weigh and conſider them; let them examine if they are ſolid, fit for the ſubject, and diſpoſed in their proper places. All the conſequence and ſtructure of the diſcourſe muſt be truly repreſented to them; and after it is explained to them, they ſhould be able to give a reaſon for the author's deſign, and to declare upon

(*a*) Cætera, quæ continuo orationis tractu magis decurrunt, in auxilium atque ornamentum argumentorum comparantur, nerviſque illis, quibus cauſa continetur, adjiciunt ſuperinducti corporis ſpeciem. Quintil. l. 5. c. 8.

(*b*) Nec abnuerim eſſe aliquid in delectatione, multum vero in commovendis affectibus. Sed hæc ipſa plus valent, cum ſe didiciſſe judex putat: quod conſequi niſi argumentatione, aliaque omni fide rerum non poſſumus. Ibid.

every paſſage, that here the author intended to prove ſuch a thing, which he does by ſuch alluſions.

(*c*) Amongſt the proofs, ſome are ſtrong and convincing, each of which ſhould be dwelt upon, and pointed out ſeparately, to avoid their being obſcured or confounded in the throng of other proofs. Others, on the contrary, are weaker, and muſt be aſſembled together, that they may mutually aſſiſt one another, and ſupply the want of ſtrength by their numbers. Quintilian gives us a very remarkable example of this. The queſtion was concerning a man who was accuſed of killing one of his relations, in order to inherit his eſtate; and here follow the proofs which were advanced on that occaſion: "Hæreditatem ſperabas, et magnam "hæreditatem; pauper eras, et tum maximè à credi-"toribus appellabaris; et offenderas eum cujus hæres "eras, et mutaturum tabulas ſciebas."

(*d*) Theſe proofs, conſidered ſeparately, are ſlight and common; but being joined together, they ſtrike us, not as the thunderbolt that ſtrikes down every thing, but as hail which makes impreſſions when its ſtrokes are redoubled.

We muſt avoid dwelling too much upon things that don't deſerve it; (*e*) for then our proofs, beſides their being tedious, become alſo ſuſpicious by the very care we take to accumulate too great a number of them, which ſeems to argue our own diffidence of them.

(*f*) 'Tis a queſtion whether we ſhould place our beſt proofs in the beginning, in order to poſſeſs ourſelves of people's affections at once; or at the end, to leave a ſtronger impreſſion in the minds of the auditors; or part

(*c*) Firmiſſimis argumentorum ſingulis inſtandum, infirmior congreganda ſunt: quia illa per ſe fortiora non oportet circumſtantibus obſcurare, ut qualia ſunt appareant; hæc imbecilla natura, mutuo auxilio ſuſtinentur. Itaque, ſi non poſſunt valere quia magna ſunt, valebunt quia multa ſunt. Quintil. l. 5. cap. 12.

(*d*) Singula levia ſunt et communia, univerſa vero nocent, etiamſi non ut fulmine, tamen ut grandine. Ibid.

(*e*) Nec tamen omnibus ſemper quæ invenerimus argumentis onerandus eſt judex: quia et tædium afferunt, et fidem detrahunt. Ibid.

(*f*) Quintil. Ibid.

part in the beginning, and another at the end, according to the order which we find in Homer's battles (*g*); or in a word, whether it is not beſt to begin with the weakeſt proofs, that we may ſtrengthen them continually in the progreſs of the oration. (*h*) Cicero ſeems to be of opinion in ſome paſſages, that we muſt begin and end with the moſt powerful and convincing proofs, and interſperſe the weakeſt between both: but in his oratorial diviſions, he (*i*) acknowledges we cannot always range our proofs as we would; and that a ſage and provident orator muſt, in that reſpect, conſult the inclinations of his auditors, and regulate himſelf by their taſte. Quintilian alſo obſerves, but without determining, that the arguments muſt vary according to the exigency of the matters in queſtion; but ſo, as the oration muſt never ſink, or conclude with trifling or weak reaſons, after we have employed ſtrong ones in the beginning.

The union and harmony to be obſerved in the proofs, is not an indifferent circumſtance; theſe contribute very much to the perſpicuity and ornament of the diſcourſe. They depend upon the juſtneſs and delicacy of the tranſitions (*k*), which are a kind of ties, by which the parts and propoſitions are united, that often ſeem to have no relation, but to be independent and foreign, as it were, to each other; and which, without this union, would claſh, and never quadrate together. The orator's art, therefore, conſiſts in knowing, how by certain turns and thoughts, applied with art, to unite theſe different proofs ſo naturally, that they may ſeem deſigned for each other; and the whole

(*g*) Iliad. l. 4. v. 297.

(*h*) Cic. lib. 2. de Orat. n. 314, &c. in Orat. 350.

(*i*) Semperne ordinem collocandi, quem volumus, tenere poſſumus? Non ſane. Nam auditorum aures moderantur oratori prudenti et provido, et quod reſpuunt immutandum eſt. In Partition. Orat. n. 15.

(*k*) Ita res diverſæ diſtantibus ex locis, quaſi invicem ignotæ, non collidentur, ſed aliqua ſocietate cum prioribus ac ſequentibus ſe copulaque tenebunt.—Ita ut corpus ſit, non membra.—Ac videbitur non ſolum compoſita oratio, ſed etiam continua. Quintil. l. 7. c. ult.

whole not form ſeparate members and detached pieces, but an entire and complete body.

M. Flechier had begun the elogium of M. de Turenne, with that of the ancient and illuſtrious houſe of la Tour d'Auvergne, whoſe blood is mingled with that of kings and emperors; has given princes to Aquitaine, princeſſes to all the courts of Europe, and queens even to France itſelf.

He ſpeaks afterwards of that Princes's misfortune to be born in hereſy. In order to join this part with the former, he uſes a figure called by the rhetoricians, correction, which ſupplies him with a very natural tranſition. "But what do I ſay? We muſt not applaud him "here on that ſcore; we muſt rather lament him. How "glorious ſoever the ſtock might be from which he "ſprung, the hereſy of the latter times has infected it."

There is another obſervation ſtill more important. (*l*) It does not ſuffice to find ſolid proofs, to range them in proper order, and to unite them well; we muſt know the method of diſplaying, and giving them a juſt extent, in order to make the auditors ſenſible of their weight and efficacy, and to deduce all poſſible advantages from them. This is generally called amplification, in which the force of eloquence, and the orator's art, chiefly conſiſt, and wherein Cicero principally excelled. I will confine myſelf to one example on this head, taken from his defence of Milo.

To the many proofs by which Cicero had ſhewn that Milo was far from premeditating the deſign of killing Clodius, he adds a reflection taken from the circumſtance of time; and he aſks if it is probable that Milo, who was making intereſt for the conſulſhip, ſhould be ſo imprudent as to be guilty of a baſe and cowardly aſſaſſination, whereby he would loſe the hearts of all the Roman people, and that almoſt at the time they were to aſſemble, in order to diſpoſe of

(*l*) Quædem argumenta ponere ſatis non eſt: adjuvanda ſunt. Quintil. lib. 5 cap. 12.

of the public employments. (*m*) *Præſertim, judices, cum honoris ampliſſimi contentio et dies comitiorum ſubeſſet.* This is a very juſt reflection; but if the orator had done nothing more than barely repreſent it, without ſupporting it with the arts of eloquence, it would not have very much affected the judges. But he improved and ſet off that circumſtance of time in a ſurpriſing manner, by demonſtrating, that at ſuch a juncture, men are extremely circumſpect and attentive, in order to conciliate the favour and voices of the people. "I know, ſays Cicero, how great are the cau-" tion and reſerve of thoſe who make intereſt for em-" ployments, and what care and uneaſineſs attend ſuch " as ſue for the conſulſhip. On theſe occaſions, we " are not only afraid of what may be openly objected " to us, but of what people may imagine within them-" ſelves. The leaſt report, the idleſt and worſt ground-" ed ſtory alarms and diſorders us. We anxiouſly " conſult the eyes, the looks, and words of every body; " for nothing is ſo delicate, ſo frail, uncertain, and " variable, as the inclinations of citizens with regard " to all thoſe who are candidates for public employ-" ments. They are not only offended at the lighteſt " miſcarriages, but are ſometimes ſo capricious as to " take an unreaſonable diſlike even to the moſt laudable " actions." 'Quo quidem tempore (ſcio enim quam 'timida ſit ambitio, quantaque et quam ſolicita cupi-'ditas conſulatus) omnia, non modo quæ reprehendi 'palam, ſed etiam quæ obſcure cogitari poſſunt, time-'mus: rumorem, fabulam fictam, falſam perhorreſci-'mus: ora omnium atque oculos intuemur. Nihil 'enim eſt tam molle, tam tenerum, tam aut fragile 'aut flexibile, quam voluntas erga nos ſenſuſque civi-'um, qui non modo improbitati iraſcuntur candidato-'rum, ſed etiam in recte factis ſæpe faſtidiunt.' Is it 'poſſible to give a more lively idea of the whimſical 'levity of the people on the one hand; and, on the 'other,

(*m*) For Milo, n. 42, 43.

other, of the continual fears and inquietudes of thoſe who court their ſuffrages? He concludes his argument in a ſtill more lively and moving manner, by aſking whether there is the leaſt probability that Milo, whoſe thoughts had been ſo long employed entirely on this great day of election, durſt appear before ſo auguſt an aſſembly as that of the people, with hands ſtill reeking with the blood of Clodius, and his whole countenance haughtily confeſſing his crime. 'Hunc 'diem igitur campi ſperatum atque exoptatum ſibi 'proponens Milo, cruentis manibus ſcelus et facinus 'præ ſe ferens et confitens, ad illa auguſta centuriarum 'auſpicia veniebat? Quam hoc non credibile in hoc! 'Quam idem in Clodio non dubitandum, qui ſe, in-'terfecto Milone, regnaturum putaret!'

It muſt be confeſſed, that ſuch paſſages as theſe convince, move, and tranſport the auditors. But we muſt take care not to carry them too far, and diſtruſt a too lively imagination, which giving too much way to its own ſallies, dwells very unſeaſonably upon things either foreign to the ſubject, or of little moment; or inſiſts too long even on things that merit ſome attention. Cicero candidly acknowledges, that he had formerly fallen into this laſt error. (*n*) In his defence of Roſcius, he makes long reflections upon the puniſhment of parricides, who were put alive into ſacks, and thrown into the ſea. (*o*) The audience were raviſhed with the beauty of that paſſage, and interrupted the orator by their plaudits. Indeed it is difficult to meet with any thing brighter. (*p*) But Cicero, whoſe taſte and judgment had attained perfection by long practice, and whoſe eloquence, as he himſelf obſerves, had acquired a kind

(*n*) For Roſc. Amer. 70, 71. (*o*) Quantis illa clamoribus adoleſcentuli diximus de ſupplicio parricidarum! Cic. in Orat. na. 107.

(*p*) Cum ipſa oratio jam noſtra caneſceret, haberetque ſuam quandam maturitatem, et quaſi ſenectutem. Brut. n. 8.

Quæ nequaquam ſatis deferbuiſſe poſt aliquando ſentire 'cœpimus—— ſunt enim omnia ſicut adoleſcentis, non tam re et maturitate, quam ſpe et expectatione laudati. Orat. n. 107.

Illa pro Roſcio juvenilis redundantia. Ibid, n. 108.

a kind of maturity by time, Cicero, I ſay, acknowledged afterwards, that when this paſſage was not ſo highly applauded, it was not ſo much on account of its juſt or real beauties, as from the expectation of thoſe he ſeemed to promiſe in a moré advanced age.

It is a very uſeful exerciſe to youth, as I before obſerved, towards making invention eaſy to them; to propoſe a ſubject already treated of by ſome good author, and to make them find arguments immediately, by interrogating them *vivâ voce*, and by aſſiſting them with leading or introductory hints.

S. Roſcius, whoſe defence Cicero undertook, was charged with killing his father, and the accuſer brought no proof againſt him. If we aſk boys what they can ſay againſt the accuſer, they will reply, no doubt, that in order to give ſome air of probability to an accuſation of that kind, there muſt be a great number of proofs, which muſt likewiſe be very convincing, and entirely inconteſtible. We ought to ſhew the advantage that would redound to the ſon by the father's death; the irregularities and diſorders of his former conduct, to prepare us to believe he he might be guilty of ſo great a crime; and when all this was demonſtrated, then, in order to bring proofs of ſo incredible an act, we muſt remark the place, the time, the witneſſes, the accomplices, without which, we cannot believe a ſon guilty of ſo black a crime, which ſuppoſes a man to be a monſter, in whom all natural ſentiments are extinct. Care ſhould be taken to tell them previouſly the ſtory of the two children that were found aſleep near their father who had been killed, and were acquitted by the judge, he being perſuaded of their innocence, from the tranquillity of mind in which they were found: and youth will not fail to make a proper uſe of that ſtory in this place. Fabulous hiſtory will come in to their aſſiſtance, by giving them examples of children, who having imbrued their hands in the blood of their mothers, were abandoned by order of the gods to the avenging

avenging furies. In fine, the nature of the puniſhment eſtabliſhed by the Romans againſt parricides by diſplaying the enormity of the crime, will alſo ſufficiently ſhew the neceſſity an accuſer has to bring very evident and certain proofs of it. Youth will, of themſelves, find out ſome of theſe arguments; and proper interrogations will lead them on to the reſt. After this they ought to read the very paſſage in Cicero, which will teach them the method of treating every proof diſtinctly.

Cicero's oration, and Livy's ſpeeches furniſh us with a great number of ſuch examples. I have made choice of a very ſhort, but very eloquent ſpeech, out of the latter, which alone will ſhew youth the method of peruſing authors, and how to compoſe.

Explanation *of a Speech in* Livy.

(*b*) Let us ſuppoſe the ſpeech of Pacuvius to his ſon Perolla is given to a youth for a theme. Here follows the ſubject of it. The city of Capua was ſurrendered to Hannibal, (who immediately made his entry into it,) by the intrigues of Pacuvius, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of Magius, who continued ſteady to the Romans, and was united with Perolla both in friendſhip and ſentiments. The day upon which Hannibal entered the city, was ſpent in rejoicing and feaſting. Two brothers, who were the moſt conſiderable perſons in the place, gave Hannibal a grand entertainment. None of the Capuans were admitted to it but Taurea and Pacuvius, and the latter, with great difficulty, obtained the ſame favour for his ſon Perolla, whoſe friendſhip with Magius was known to Hannibal, who was willing however to pardon him for what was paſſed, upon the interceſſion of his father. After the feaſt was over, Perolla led his father aſide, and drawing a poinard from under his gown, told him the deſign he had formed to kill Hannibal, and to ſeal the

(*b*) T. Liv. l. 23. n. 9.

the treaty made with the Romans with his blood. Upon this, Pacuvius was quite out of his ſenſes, and endeavoured to divert his ſon from ſo fatal a reſolution. A diſcourſe in ſuch circumſtances muſt be very ſhort, and conſiſt of no more than twelve or fifteen lines at moſt.

The father muſt begin with endeavouring to find motives within himſelf to perſuade and move his ſon. There occur three, which are natural enough. The firſt is drawn from the danger to which he expoſes himſelf, by attacking Hannibal amidſt his guards. The ſecond relates to the father himſelf, who is reſolved to ſtand between Hannibal and his ſon, and conſequently receive the firſt wound. The third is brought from the moſt ſacred obligations of religion, the faith of treaties, hoſpitality, and gratitude. The firſt ſtep to be taken in the compoſition, is to find proofs and arguments, which in rhetoric is called *Invention*, and of which it is the firſt and principal part.

After we have found arguments, we deliberate about the order of ranging them, which requires, in ſo ſhort a diſcourſe as this, that the arguments ſhould grow more powerful as the diſcourſe goes on, and that ſuch as are moſt efficacious ſhould be applied in the concluſion. Religion, generally ſpeaking, is not that which moſt affects a young man of a character and diſpoſition like him of whom we now ſpeak; we muſt therefore begin with it. His own intereſt, and the danger to which he would expoſe himſelf, affect him much more ſenſibly. That motive muſt hold the ſecond place. The reſpect and tenderneſs for a father whom he muſt kill before he can come at Hannibal, ſurpaſs whatever can be imagined; which, for that reaſon, muſt conclude the diſcourſe. This ranging of the arguments is called *diſpoſition* in rhetoric, and is the ſecond part of it.

There remains *elocution*, which furniſhes the expreſſions and turns, and which, by the variety and vivacity of the figures, contributes moſt to the beauty and

and ſtrength of diſcourſe. Let us now ſee how Livy treats each part.

The preamble, which holds the place of the exordium, is ſhort, but lively and moving.

(*r*) "Per ego te, fili, quæcunque jura liberos jungunt "parentibus, precor quæſoque, ne ante oculos patris "facere et pati omnia infanda velis." This confuſed diſpoſition, *per ego te*, is very ſuitable to the concern and trouble of a diſtracted father: *amens metu*, ſays Livy. Thoſe words, *quæcunque jura liberos jungunt parentibus*, include whatever is ſtrongeſt and moſt tender. That propoſition, *ne ante oculos patris facere et pati omnia infanda velis*, which repreſents the crime and fatal conſequence of ſuch a murder, is in a manner the whole ſpeech abridged. He might have ſaid only, *ne occidere Annibalem in conſpectu meo velis*. But what a difference is there between the one and the other!

I. MOTIVE, drawn from religion. This is ſubdivided into three others, which are little more than barely ſhewn, but in a lively and eloquent manner, without circumſtance or word which does not carry its weight. 1. The faith of treaties confirmed by oaths and ſacrifices. 2. The ſacred and inviolable laws of hoſpitality. 3. The authority of a father over a ſon. (*s*) "Paucæ horæ ſunt, intra quas jurantes quicquid "deorum eſt, dextræ dextras jungentes, fidem ob- "ſtrinximus, ut ſacratas fide manus digreſſi ab collo- "quio extemplo in eum armaremus? Surgis ab hoſpi- "tali

(*r*) I pray and conjure you, my ſon, by all the moſt ſacred laws of nature and blood, not to attempt before your father's eyes an action as criminal in itſelf, as it will be fatal to you in its conſequence.

(*s*) It is but a few minutes ſince we bound ourſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths; that we gave Hannibal the moſt holy teſtimonies of an inviolable friendſhip: And ſhall we, when we are ſcarce riſen from the entertainment, arm that very hand againſt him, which we preſented to him as a pledge of our fidelity? That table, where the gods preſide who maintain the laws of hoſpitality, to which you were admitted by a particular favour, of which only two Capuans had a ſhare; leave you that ſacred table with no other view but to defile it the next moment with the blood of your inviter? Alas! after I obtained my ſon's pardon from Hannibal, is it poſſible that I cannot prevail with my ſon to pardon Hannibal?

" tali menſa, ad quam tertius Campanorum adhibitus " ab Annibale es, ut eam ipſam menſam cruentares hoſ- " pitis ſanguine? Annibalem pater filio meo potui pla- " care: filium Annibali non poſſum?

II. MOTIVE. (*t*) " Sed ſit nihil ſancti; non fides, " non religio, non pietas: audeantur infanda, ſi non " perniciem nobis cum ſcelere afferunt." This is no more than a tranſition; but how finely is it embelliſhed! What juſtneſs and elegance in the diſtribution, which reſumes in three words the three parts of the firſt motive! *faith*, for the treaty; *religion*, for the hoſpitality; *piety*, for the reſpect which a ſon owes to a father. " Audeantur infanda, ſi non perniciem nobis cum ſcelere " afferunt." This is a very beautiful thought, and leads us naturally from the firſt motive to the ſecond.

" (*u*) Unus aggreſſurus es Annibalem? Quid illa turba " tot liberorum ſervorumque? Quid in unum intenti " omnium oculi? Quid tot dextræ? Torpeſcentne in " amentia illa? Vultum ipſius Annibalis, quem armati " exercitus ſuſtinere nequeunt, quem horret populus " Romanus, tu ſubſtinebis?" What a multitude of thoughts, figures, and images! and this only to declare, that Perolla could not attack Hannibal, without expoſing himſelf to inevitable death. How admirable is the oppoſition between whole armies, which cannot bear the ſight of Hannibal, the Roman people themſelves who tremble at his looks, and a weak private man! *tu*, (thou.)

III. Mo-

(*t*) But let us have no regard for thoſe things which are moſt ſacred among men; let us violate at one and the ſame time, faith, religion and piety; let us perpetrate the blackeſt action, provided our deſtruction be not infallibly annexed to our crime.

(*u*) Do you alone pretend to attack Hannibal? But to what end? Do you imagine that the multitude of freemen and ſlaves who ſurround him; all thoſe eyes that are conſtantly fixed upon him, in order to ſecure him from danger; or that ſo many hands, always ready to defend him, would be blaſted and immoveable, the moment you make this mad attempt? Will you be able to ſupport only the looks of Hannibal; thoſe formidable looks, which whole armies cannot ſupport, and which make the Romans themſelves tremble?

III. MOTIVE. (*n*) " Et, alia auxilia deſint, me ip-
" ſum ferire, corpus meum opponentem pro corpore
" Annibalis ſuſtinebis? Atqui per meum pectus peten-
" dus ille tibi transfigenduſque eſt.

I admire the ſimplicity and brevity of this laſt motive, as much as the vivacity of that which precedes it. A youth wou'd be tempted to add ſome thoughts in this place, and to expatiate on the paſſage; Can you imbrue your hands in the blood of your father? Tear life from him, from whom you received your own? &c. But ſo great a maſter as Livy is well appriſed, that it ſuffices to hint ſuch a motive, and that to amplify would only weaken it.

The PERORATION. (*x*) " Deterreri hic ſine te po-
" tius, quam illic vinci. Valeant preces apud te meæ,
" ſicat pro te hodie valuerunt." Pacuvius had hitherto employed the moſt lively and moving figures. Every thing is full of ſpirit and fire; no doubt but his eyes, his countenance and hands, were more eloquent than his tongue. But he is ſoftened on a ſudden: he aſſumes a more ſedate tone, and concludes with entreaties, which, from a father, are more powerful than any arguments that can he brought. Accordingly, the ſon cannot hold out againſt this laſt attack. The tears which began to fall down his cheeks, demonſtrated his confuſion. The kiſſes of a father who embraced him tenderly a long time, and his repeated and urgent entreaties, brought him at laſt to compliance. " Lacrymantem, inde juvenem
" cernens, medium complectitur, atque oſculo hærens,
" non ante precibus abſtitit, quam pervicit ut gladium
" poneret, fidemque daret nihil facturum tale."

ARTICLE

(*n*) And ſuppoſe he were deprived of all other aſſiſtance, will you have the boldneſs to ſtrike me too, when I protect him with my body, and place myſelf between him and your ſword? For I declare that you cannot come at him, without ſtabbing me.

(*x*) Soften your reſentments, my ſon, this very inſtant; and don't reſolve to periſh in ſo ill concerted an enterprize. Let my entreaties have ſome influence over you, ſince they have been ſo efficacious this day in your favour.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Of THOUGHTS.

THOUGHT is a very vague and general word, having many different ſignifications, like the Latin word *ſententia*. It is evident enough, that the thoughts we are examining in this place are thoſe which are introduced into works of genius, and are one of their chief beauties.

This properly forms the foundation and body of a diſcourſe; (*y*) for elocution is only its dreſs and ornament. We muſt then inculcate this grand principle into young people very early, which is ſo often repeated by Cicero and Quintilian, (*z*) *viz.* that words are made only for things; that they are intended for no other end but to diſplay, or at moſt to embelliſh our thoughts; (*a*) that the choiceſt and brighteſt expreſſions, uninformed with good ſenſe, muſt be looked upon as empty and contemptible ſounds, altogether ridiculous and fooliſh. That, on the contrary, we muſt eſteem ſolid thoughts and reaſons, though unadorned, becauſe truth alone, in whatſoever manner it appears, is always eſtimable; in fine, (*b*) that an orator may beſtow ſome care upon words, but muſt apply his chief attention to things.

We muſt likewiſe make youth obſerve, that the thoughts with which good authors embelliſh their diſcourſes, are plain, natural, and intelligible; that they are neither affected nor far fetched, and, as it were, forced

(*y*) Quorundam elocutio res ipſas effœminat, quæ illo verborum habitu veſtiuntur. Quintil. proœm. l. 8.

(*z*) Sit cura elocutionis quam maxima, dum ſciamus tamen nihil verborum cauſa eſſe faciendum, cum verba ipſa rerum gratia ſint reperta. Quint. prœm. l. 8.

Quibus (verbis) ſolum à natura ſit officium attributum, ſervire ſenſibus. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

(*a*) Quid eſt tam furioſum quam verborum vel optimorum atque ornatiſſimorum ſonitus inanis, nulla ſubjecta ſententia nec ſcientia. 1. de Orat. n. 51.

(*b*) Curam ergo verborum, rerum volo eſſe ſolicitudinem. Quint. prœm. l. 8.

forced in, in order to diſplay wit; but that they always riſe out the ſubject to be treated of, from which they ſeem ſo inſeparable, that we cannot ſee how the things could have been otherwiſe expreſſed, whilſt every one imagines he would expreſs them the ſame way himſelf. But theſe obſervations will be more obvious by examples.

The Combat of the HORATII *and the* CURIATII.

The deſcription of this combat is, certainly, one of the moſt beautiful paſſages in (*c*) Livy, and the moſt proper to teach youth how to adorn a narration with natural and ingenious thoughts. In order to know the art and delicacy of this fine paſſage, we need only reduce it to a ſimple relation, by diveſting it of all its ornaments, without however omitting any eſſential circumſtance. I ſhall mark the different parts by different figures, in order the better to diſtinguiſh, and compare them afterwards, with the narrative itſelf, as we find it in Livy.

1. Fœdere icto trigemini, ſicut convenerat, arma capiunt.
2. Statim in medium inter duas acies procedunt.
3. Conſederant utrinque pro caſtris duo exercitus, in hoc ſpectaculum totis animis intenti.
4. Datur ſignum, infeſtiſque armis terni juvenes concurrunt.
5. Cum aliquandiu inter ſe æquis viribus pugnâſſent; duo Romani, ſuper alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, expirantes corruerunt.
6. Illi ſuperſtitem Romanum circumſiſtunt. Forte is integer fuit. Ergo, ut ſegregaret pugnam eorum, capeſſit fugam, ita ratus ſecuturos, ut quemque vulnere affectum corpus ſineret.
7. Jam aliquantum ſpatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum eſt, aufugerat, cum reſpiciens videt magnis intervallis ſequentes: unum haud procul ab ſeſe abeſſe; in eum magno impetu redit, eumque interficit.
8. Mox properat ad ſecundum, eumque pariter neci dat.
9. Jam

(*c*) Lib. 1.

9. Jam æquato marte ſinguli ſupererant, numero pares, ſed longe viribus diverſi.
10. Romanus exultans, *Duos*, inquit, *fratrum manibus dedi, tertium cauſæ belli hujuſce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo.* Tum gladium ſuperne illius jugulo defigit: jacentem ſpoliat.
11. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt.
12. Inde ex utraque parte ſuos ſepeliunt.

The buſineſs is to enlarge upon this narration, and to enrich it with thoughts and images which may engage and ſtrike the reader in a lively manner, and repreſent this action to him in ſuch a light as he may imagine he does not read, but ſee it, in which the greateſt power of eloquence conſiſts. To effect this, we need only conſult nature, by carefully ſtudying the emotions, and examining attentively what muſt have paſſed in the hearts of the Horatii and Curiatii, of the Romans and Albans upon the occaſion, and to paint every circumſtance in ſuch lively, and at the ſame time ſuch natural colours, that we imagine we are ſpectators of the combat. This Livy performs in a ſurpriſing manner.

(*d*) 1. Fœdere icto trigemini, ſicut convenerat, arma capiunt.

(*e*) 2. Cum ſui utroſque adhortarentur, Deos patrios, patriam, ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid in exercitu ſit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus; feroces et ſuopte ingenio, et pleni adhortantium vocibus, in medium inter duas acies procedunt.

It was natural for each party to exhort their own champions, and repreſent to them, that all their country had their eyes upon their combat. This is a fine thought, but it is very much improved by the manner of

(*d*) 1. The treaty being concluded, the three brothers on each ſide take arms according to agreement.

(*e*) 2. While each party are exhorting their reſpective champions to do their duty, by repreſenting that their gods, their country, their fathers and mothers, the whole city and army had their eyes fixed on their ſwords and actions; thoſe generous combatants, brave of themſelves, and ſtill more invigorated by ſuch preſſing exhortations, advance between the two armies.

of turning it: an exhortation more at length would be cold and languid. In reading the laſt words, we imagine we ſee thoſe generous combatants advancing between the two armies with a noble intrepid air of defiance.

(f) 3. Conſederant utrinque pro caſtris duo exercitus, periculi magis præſentis quam curæ expertes: quippe imperium agebatur, in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna poſitum. Itaque ergo erecti ſuſpenſique in minime gratum ſpectaculum animo intenduntur.

Nothing was more ſuitable here than this thought, *periculi magis præſentis quam curæ expertes*; and Livy immediately aſſigns the reaſon of it. What image do theſe two words, *erecti ſuſpenſique* paint in our minds!

(g) 4. Datur ſignum, infeſtiſque armis, velut acies, terni juvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes, concurrunt. Nec his, nec illis periculum ſuum, publicum imperium ſervitiumque obverſatur animo, futuraque ea deinde patriæ fortuna quam ipſi feciſſent. Ut primo ſtatim concurſu increpuere arma, micanteſque fulſere gladii, horror ingens ſpectantes perſtringit; et neutro inclinata ſpe, torpebat vox ſpirituſque.

Nothing can be added to the noble idea which Livy gives us of theſe combatants in this place. The three brothers were on each ſide like whole armies, and had the courage of armies; inſenſible of their own danger, they

(f) 3. They were ranged on both ſides round the field of battle, being more uneaſy on account of the conſequences to the ſtate, than of the danger to which themſelves were expoſed, becauſe the combat was to determine which of the two nations, ſhould govern the other; and ſo being agitated with theſe reflections, and ſolicitous about the event, they gave their whole attention to a fight which could not but alarm them.

(g) 4. The ſignal is given; the champions march three and three againſt each other; themſelves alone inſpired with the courage of armies. Both ſides, inſenſible of their own danger, have nothing before their eyes, but the ſlavery or liberty of their country, whoſe future deſtiny depends wholly upon their valour. The moment the claſhing of their weapons is heard, and the glitter of their ſwords is ſeen, the ſpectators, ſeized with fear and alarm, (while hope of ſucceſs inclined to neither ſide), continued motionleſs, ſo that none would have ſaid, they had loſt the uſe of their ſpeech, and even of breath.

they thought of nothing but the fate of the public, confided entirely to their perſonal valour. Two noble thoughts, and founded in truth! But can any one read what follows, and not be ſeized with equal horror and trembling with the ſpectators of the ſight? The expreſſions are all poetical in this place, and youth muſt be told, that poetical expreſſions, which are to be uſed ſeldom and very ſparingly, were requiſite from the grandeur of the ſubject, and the neceſſity there was to deſcribe ſo glorious a ſpectacle in a ſuitable pomp of words.

The mournful ſilence which kept both ſides in a manner ſuſpended and immoveable, turned immediately into acclamations of joy on the ſide of the Albans, when they ſaw two of the Horatii killed. The Romans, on the other hand, loſt all hope, and were in the utmoſt anxiety. Alarmed and trembling for the ſurviving Horatius, who was to combat three antagoniſts, they had no thoughts but of the danger he was in. Was not this the real ſenſe of both armies, after the fall of the two Horatii; and is not the picture which Livy has given us of it very natural?

(*b*) " 5. Conſertis deinde manibus, cum jam non motus " tantum corporum, agitatioque anceps telorum armo- " rumque, ſed vulnera quoque et ſanguis ſpectaculo eſ- " ſent; duo Romani ſuper alium alius, vulneratis tribus " Albanis, expirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum caſum cum " conclamaſſet gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legi- " ones jam ſpes tota, nondum tamen cura deſeruerat, ex- " animes vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumſteterant.

I ſhall give the remainder of this quotation with little or no reflection, to avoid a tedious prolixity. I muſt only obſerve to the reader, that the chief beauty of this relation, as well as of hiſtory in general,

(*b*) 5. Afterwards, when they began to engage, not only the motion of their hands, and the brandiſhing of their weapons, drew the eyes of the Spectators, but the wounds, and blood running down; two Romans falling dead at the feet of the Albans, who were all wounded. Upon their falling, the Alban army ſhouted aloud, whilſt the Roman legions remained without hope, but not anxiety, trembling for the ſurviving Roman, ſurrounded by the three Albans.

according to (*i*) Cicero's judicious remark, conſiſts in the ſurpriſing variety which runs through the whole, and the different emotions of fear, anxiety, hope, joy, deſpair, and grief, occaſioned by the ſudden alterations, and unexpected viciſſitudes, which rouſe the attention by an agreeable ſurpriſe, keep the reader in a kind of ſuſpenſe, and give him incredible pleaſure even from that uncertainty, eſpecially where the narration concludes with an affecting and ſingular event. It will be eaſy to apply theſe principles to every thing that follows.

(*k*) "Forte is integer fuit; ut univerſis ſolus nequa-
"quam par, ſic adverſus ſingulos ferox. Ergo, ut ſegre-
"garet pugnam eorum, capeſſit fugam, ita ratus ſecutu-
"ros, ut quemque vulnere affectum corpus ſineret."

(*l*) 7. "Jam aliquantum ſpatii ex eo loco, ubi pugna-
"tum eſt, aufugerat, cum reſpiciens videt magnis inter-
"vallis ſequentes: unum haud procul ab ſeſe abeſſe. In
"eum magno impetu redit. Et, dum Albanus exercitus
"inclamat Curiatiis ut opem ferant fratri, jam Horatius
"cæſo hoſte victor ſecundam pugnam petebat."

(*m*) 8. "Tum clamore, qualis ex inſperato faventium
"ſolet, Romani adjuvant militem ſuum: et ille defungi
"prælio

(*i*) Multam caſus noſtri tibi varietatem in ſcribendo ſuppeditabunt, plenam cujuſdam voluptatis, quæ vehementer animos hominum in legendo ſcripto retinere poſſit: nihil eſt enim aptius ad delectationem lectoris, quam temporum varietates, fortunæque viciſſitudines.---Ancipites variique caſus habent admirationem, lætitiam, moleſtiam, ſpem, timorem. Si vero exitu notabili concluduntur, expletur animus jucundiſſimæ lectionis voluptate. Cic. ep. 12. l. 5. ad. famil.

(*k*) 6. Happily he was not wounded: thus, being too weak againſt three, though ſuperior to any one of them ſingle, he had recourſe to a ſtratagem, in which he ſucceeded. In order to divide his adverſaries, he fled, being purſued they would follow him with more or leſs expedition, as their ſtrength, after ſo much loſs of blood, would permit.

(*l*) 7. Having fled a conſiderable ſpace from the ſpot where they had fought, he looked back and ſaw the Curiatii purſuing him at a great diſtance from each other, and one of them very near; upon which he turned, and charged him with all his force, and, while the Alban army were crying out to his brothers to ſuccour him, Horatius, who had already ſlain the firſt enemy, runs to a ſecond victory.

(*m*) 8. The Romans then encourage their champion with great ſhouts, ſuch as generally proceed from unexpected joy, and he, on the other

" prælio feſtinat. Prius itaque quam alter, qui nec procul
" aberat, conſequi poſſet, et alterum Curiatium conficit.

(*n*) 9. " Jamque æquato marte ſinguli ſupererant, ſed
" nec ſpe nec viribus pares. Alterum intactum ferro
" corpus, et geminata victoria ferocem, in certamen
" tertium dabant: alter, feſſum vulnere, feſſum curſu
" trahens corpus, victuſque fratrum ante ſe ſtrage,
" victori objicitur hoſti. Nec illud prælium fuit.

How beautiful are the thoughts and expreſſions! How lively the images and deſcriptions!

(*o*) 10. *Romanus exultans*, Duos, *inquit*, fratrum manibus dedi: tertium cauſæ belli hujuſce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo. " Male ſuſtinenti arma, gla-
" dium ſuperne jugulo defigit: jacentem ſpoliat."

(*p*) 11. " Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium
" accipiunt, eo majore cum gaudio, quo propius me-
" tum res fuerat.

(*q*) 12. Ad ſepulturam inde ſuorum nequaquam pari-
" bus animis vertuntur; quippe imperio alteri auc-
" a teri ditionis alienæ facti.

other hand, haſtens to put an end to the ſecond combat; and in this manner, before the other combatant, who was not far off, could come up to aſſiſt his brother, he killed him alſo.

(*n*) 9. There remained now but one combatant on each ſide; but though their numbers was equal, their ſtrength and hope were far from being ſo. The Roman, without a wound, and flushed with his double victory, advances with great confidence to this third combat. His antagoniſt, on the contrary, weak from the loſs of blood, and ſpent with running, ſcarce drags his legs after him; and already vanquiſhed by the death of his brothers, encounters the victor. But this could not be called a combat.

(*o*) 10. The Roman then cried out with an air of triumph, I have ſacrificed the two firſt to the manes of my brothers; I will now ſacrifice the third to my country, that Rome may ſubdue Alba, and give laws to it. Curiatius being ſcarce able to carry his arms, the other thruſts his ſword into his breaſt, and afterwards takes his ſpoils.

(*p*) 11. The Romans receive Horatius in their camp with a joy and acknowledgment, proportioned to the danger they had eſcaped.

(*q*) 12. After this, each party apply themſelves to burying their dead, but with ſentiments widely different; the Romans having enlarged their empire, and the Albans become the ſubjects of a foreign power.

I believe nothing is more capable of forming the taſte of young people both for reading authors and compoſition, than to propoſe ſuch paſſages as theſe to them; and to habituate them to diſcover their beauties without any aſſiſtance, by ſtripping them of all their embelliſhments, and reducing them to ſimple propoſitions, as we have done here. This method will teach them how to find out and expreſs thoughts.

I ſhall add ſeveral reflections from father Bouhours, moſt of them with examples from Latin and French authors, taken from his *Maniere de bien penſer*, &c.

Different REFLECTIONS *upon* THOUGHTS.

I. Truth is the firſt quality, and in a manner the ſource of thoughts. The moſt beautiful are vicious; or rather, thoſe which paſs for beautiful, are not really ſo, unleſs founded in truth, *pag.* 9.

Thoughts are the images of things, as words are the images of thoughts; and to think, generally ſpeaking, is to form in one's ſelf the picture of an object either of the ſenſes or the underſtanding. Now images and pictures are only true from the reſemblance they bear to their objects. Thus a thought is true, when it repreſents things faithfully; and falſe, when it repreſents them otherwiſe than as they are in themſelves, *ibid.* Truth which is indiviſible in other reſpects, is not ſo in this caſe. Thoughts are more or leſs true, as they are more or leſs conformable to their object. Entire conformity forms what we call the juſtneſs of a thought; that is, as clothes fit, when they ſit well on the body, and are completely proportioned to the perſon who wears them; ſo thoughts are juſt when they perfectly agree with the things they repreſent: ſo that a juſt thought, to ſpeak properly, is a thought true in all reſpects, and in every light we view it, *p.* 41.

We have a beautiful example of this in the Latin epigram upon Dido, which has been ſo happily tranſlated into the French language. For the better underſtanding

ſtanding it, we muſt ſuppoſe what hiſtory relates of this matter; *viz.* That Dido fled to Africa with all her wealth, after Sicheus had been killed; and alſo what poeſy feigns, *viz.* that ſhe killed herſelf after Æneas had left her.

(*r*) Infelix Dido, nulli bene nupta marito:
Hoc pereunte, fugis; hoc fugiente, peris.

Pauvre Didon, où t'a (*s*) réduite
De tes maris, le triſte ſort?
L'un, en mourant, cauſe ta fuite:
L'autre, en fuiant, cauſe ta mort.

We muſt not however imagine that this exact play of words is any way eſſential to juſtneſs, which does not always require ſo much ſymmetry, or ſo great a ſport of terms. It is enough for the thought to be true in all its extent, and that nothing be falſe in it, in whatever light we examine it, *p.* 41, 42.

Plutarch, who was a man of ſolid underſtanding, condemns the celebrated thought of an hiſtorian upon the burning of the temple of Epheſus: "That it was "no wonder this magnificent temple, dedicated to Diana, "ſhould be burnt the very night Alexander was born; "becauſe, as the goddeſs aſſiſted at Olympias's deli-"very, ſhe was ſo very buſy, that ſhe could not extin-"guiſh the fire." It is ſurpriſing that (*t*) Cicero looked upon this as a pretty thought; he who always thinks and judges right. But it is ſtill more ſupriſing that ſo auſtere a judge as Plutarch had ſo far forgot his ſeverity, as to add, that the hiſtorian's reflection was cold enough to extinguiſh the fire, *p.* 49, 50.

Quintilian

(*r*) Auſon.

(*s*) On a remarqué ici une faute contre la langue, qui demande *reduit* au maſculin, parce que le nominatif eſt après le verbe.

(*t*) Concinne, ut multa, Timæus; qui cum in hiſtoria dixiſſet, qua nocte natus Alexander eſſet, eadem Dianæ Epheſiæ templum de flagraviſſe: adjunxit, minime id eſſe mirandum, quod Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adeſſe voluiſſet, abfuiſſet domo. De nat. Deor. l. 2. n. 69.

Quintilian laughs very juſtly at certain orators, who imagined there was ſomething very beautiful in ſaying, "that great rivers were navigable at their ſprings, and "that good trees bore fruit at their firſt ſhooting out "of the ground." (*u*) Theſe compariſons may dazzle at firſt, and were very much cried up in Quintilian's time; but when we examine them narrowly, we diſcover the falſe in them,] *p.* 72.

II. To think juſtly, it is not enough that the thoughts have nothing falſe in them, for they ſometimes become trivial by being true; and when Cicero applauds Craſſus on this ſubject of thoughts, after ſaying that orator's were ſo juſt and true, he adds, they are ſo new and ſo uncommon: (*x*) "Sententiæ Craſſi tam integræ, tam "vera, tam novæ." viz. that beſides truth, which always ſatisfies the mind, ſomething more is wanting to ſtrike and ſurpriſe it.—Truth is to a thought, what foundations are to building; it ſupports and gives it ſolidity: but a building, which had nothing to recommend it but ſolidity, would not pleaſe thoſe who are ſkilled in architecture. Beſides ſolidity, in well-built houſes, magnificence, beauty, and even delicacy are required: and this I would have in the thoughts we are now ſpeaking of. Truth, which pleaſes ſo much on other occaſions without any embelliſhment, requires it here; and its ornament is ſometimes no more than a new turn given to things. Examples will ſhew the reader my meaning.

Death ſpares none. This is a very true thought, but it is very plain and common. In order to raiſe it, and make it new in ſome reſpect, we need only turn it as Horace and Malherbe has done. The former every body knows has it thus:

Pallida mors æquo pede pulſat pauperum tabernas,
Regumque turres. Carm. lib. 1. od. 4.

"Death

(*u*) Quorum utrumque in iis eſt, quæ me juvene ubique cantari ſolebant: Magnorum fluminum navigabiles fontes ſunt: et, generoſioris arboris ſtatim planta cum fructu eſt. Quint. l. 8. c. 4.

(*x*) De orat. l. 2. n. 188.

" Death overthrows equally the palaces of kings " and the huts of the poor."

The ſecond gives it a different turn:

Le pauvre en ſa cabane où le chaume le couvre,
Eſt ſujet à ſes loix.
Et la garde qui veille aux barrieres du Louvre,
N'en défend pas nos Rois.

The turn of the Latin poet is more figurative and lively; that of the French poet more natural and delicate. There is ſomething noble in both, *p.* 75, 78, 79.

1. [Elevated *(y)* thoughts, which repreſent nothing but what is great to the mind, principally heighten a diſcourſe.] It is the ſublimity and grandeur of a thought which properly tranſports and raviſhes us, provided it be conformable to the ſubject. For it is a general rule, that our thoughts muſt ſuit our matter; and nothing is more inconſiſtent, (z) than to introduce ſublime thoughts upon a mean ſubject, which requires only thoſe of the mediate kind. It were almoſt better to introduce mediate thoughts upon a great ſubject, which required ſublime ones, *p.* 80.

(a) ' Fortune has given you nothing greater, than ' the power to preſerve the lives of ſuch multitudes; ' nor nature any thing better than the will to do ſo.' Thus the Roman orator ſpeaks to Cæſar; and an hiſtorian ſpeaks of the former in the following words: *(b)* ' He owed his excellent endowments ſolely to ' himſelf; and his great genius prevented the conquered ' nations from having the ſame advantage over the Romans

(y) Non ad perſuaſionem, ſed ad ſtuporem rapiunt grandia Longin. de ſublim. ſect. 1.

(z) A ſermone tenui ſublime diſcordat, fitque corruptum, quia in plano tumet. Quintil. l. 8. c. 3.

(a) Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus, quam ut poſſis, nec natura tua melius, quam ut velis conſervare quam plurimos. Orat. pro Lig. n. 38.

(b) Omnia incrementa ſua ſibi debuit: vir ingenio maximus, qui efficit ne, quorum arma viceramus, eorum ingenio vinceremur. Vell. Paterc. lib. 2.

'Romans by genius and knowledge, the Romans had 'over them by valour.' But Seneca the elder ſays ſomething nobler and greater on this occaſion, (*c*) 'That 'Cicero's underſtanding alone was equal to the Roman 'empire, p. 83, 84.

Cicero ſpeaks very nobly of Cæſar, (*d*) by ſaying, there was no occaſion to oppoſe the Alps againſt the Gauls, nor the Rhine againſt the Germans; that tho' the higheſt mountains ſhould be levelled, and the deepeſt rivers dried up, Italy would have nothing to fear; and that the brave actions and victories of Cæſar would defend it much better than the ramparts with which nature had fortified it, *p.* 87.

Pompey having conquered Tigranes king of Armenia, would not ſuffer him to continue long at his feet, but put the crown again upon his head. (*e*) 'He re-'ſtored him to his former condition, ſays an hiſtorian, 'thinking there was as much glory to make, as to 'conquer kings,' *p.* 88.

The funeral oration of Henrietta of France, queen of England, and that of Henrietta Anne of England, ducheſs of Orleans (by M. Boſſuet) are full of thoughts which Hermogenes calls majeſtic.

"Her great ſoul was ſuperior to her birth; any "other place but a throne had been unworthy of her.

"As gentle, familiar, and agreeable, as firm and "courageous, ſhe knew as well how to perſuade and "convince, as to command; and could make reaſon "no leſs prevalent than authority.

"Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of his arms (ſpeak-"ing of King Charles I.) though he could be over-"come, he could not be compelled; and as he never "refuſed any thing juſt and reaſonable when a con-

"queror,

[*c*] Illud ingenium, quod ſolum populus Romanus par imperio ſuo habuit. Controv. lib. 1.

[*d*] Perfecit ille, ut ſi montes reſediſſent, amnes exaruiſſent, non naturæ præſidio, ſed victoria ſua rebuſque geſtis Italiam munitam haberemus. Contra Piſ. n. 82.

[*e*] In priſtinum fortunæ habitum reſtituit: æque pulchrum eſſe judicans, et vincere reges, et facere. Val. Max. l. 5. c. 1.

" queror, he always rejected whatever was inglorious " and unjuſt when a priſoner, *p.* 105."

Thoughts of this kind carry their own conviction along with them, ſeize the judgment in a manner by force, move our paſſions, and fire our ſouls.

2. This is then a firſt ſpecies of thoughts which not only gain belief, as being true, but excite admiration, as being new and extraordinary. Thoſe of the ſecond ſpecies are the agreeable, which ſurprize and ſtrike us ſometimes as much as the noble and ſublime: but affect that by their beauty, which the others do by grandeur and ſublimity. Sublime thoughts are alſo agreeable, but it is not their agreeableneſs that forms their character. They pleaſe, becauſe they have ſomething great, which always charms the mind; whereas the others pleaſe only becauſe they are agreeable. What is charming in the latter, is like the ſoft, tender, and graceful touches we obſerve in ſome paintings. It is partly that *ſoft and facetious*, the *molle atque facetum*, which *(f)* Horace attributes to Virgil, and does not conſiſt in what we call humorous, but in ſome inexpreſſible grace, which cannot be defined in general, and of which there is more than one kind, *p.* 131, 132.

Compariſons taken from florid and delightful ſubjects form agreeable thoughts, in like manner as thoſe we take from grand ſubjects form noble ones. " I " think, ſays Coſtar, it is a great advantage for a per- " ſon to be naturally inclined to good; which unforced " diſpoſition is like a gentle rivulet, that following its " own natural courſe, runs without obſtacle between " two flowery banks. Methinks, on the contrary, " thoſe who are good from reflection, who perform " ſometimes more virtuous actions than the former, " are like thoſe fountains in which art does violence to " nature; and which, after having ſpouted their wa- " ters to the ſkies, are often ſtopped by the leaſt ob- " ſtacle."

(f) Satyr. 10. lib. 1.

Balſac thinks very prettily, when he ſays of a little river, "This beautiful ſtream is ſo fond of theſe "meadows, that it divides itſelf into a thouſand "branches, and forms an infinite number of iſlands "and turnings, in order to ſport itſelf in them the "more agreeably, *p.* 137, 138."

Ingenious fictions produce as agreeable effects in proſe as in verſe. They are ſo many diverting ſpectacles to the mind, which always pleaſe perſons of taſte and judgment. When Pliny the younger exhorts Cornelius Tacitus to follow his example and ſtudy, even when hunting, he tells him, that (*g*) the exerciſe of the body exalts the mind; that woods, ſolitude, and even the ſilence of ſome ſports, contribute very much to our thinking juſtly of things; in fine, that if he carried his tablets with him, he would find that Minerva delighted as much in foreſts and mountains as Diana. Here is a little fiction in a very few words. Pliny had ſaid before (*h*), that being at a hunting match, where they took three wild boars in toils, he ſat down near the toils, with his tablets in his hand, writing down any happy thought which occurred to his mind, in order, that if he ſhould chance to return home with empty hands, yet his pocket book might be full. This is a pretty thought; but there is more beauty in his imagining that Minerva inhabits the woods as well as Diana, and that ſhe is to be found in the valleys and mountains, *p.* 139, 140.

The agreeable ariſes generally from oppoſition; eſpecially in thoughts which have two meanings, and, as it were, two faces; for that figure which ſeems to deny what it advances, and contradicts itſelf in outward appearance, is vaſtly elegant. Sophocles ſays, the preſents of an enemy are not preſents, and that a cruel

(*g*) Mirum eſt ut animus agitatione motuque corporis excitetur. Jam undique ſilvæ, et ſolitudo, ipſumque illud ſilentium quod venationi datur, magna cogitationis incitamenta ſunt—— Experieris non Dianam magis montibus, quam Minervam, inerrare. Lib. 1. ep. 6.

(*h*) Ad retia ſedebam: erant in proximo non venabulum aut lanceæ, ſed ſtylus et pugillares. Meditabar aliquid, enotabamque, ut, ſi manus vacuas, plenas tamen ceras reportarem. Ibid.

cruel mother is not a mother. (*i*) And Seneca tells us, a great fortune is great ſlavery; Tacitus, (*k*) that we are ſometimes guilty of the baſeſt and moſt ſervile actions for the ſake of power. (*l*) Horace ſpeaks of a ſage folly, of an active ſloth, and of a jarring concord. Some have ſaid, kings are ſlaves upon the throne; that the body and ſoul are two enemies who cannot part with each other, and two friends who cannot bear each other. According to Voiture, the ſecret to be healthy and gay, conſiſts in the exerciſe of the body, and the tranquillity of the mind. The ſame author ſays, ſpeaking of a perſon of quality who was a prodigious genius, and his friend; I am never ſo haughty as when I receive his letters, nor ſo humble as when I am going to anſwer them, *p.* 146.

However, we muſt not fancy that a thought cannot be agreeable or beautiful, unleſs it glitters and carries with it a play of words; ſimplicity alone ſometimes forms all its beauty. This ſimplicity conſiſts in a plain and ingenuous, but lively and rational air, ſuch as is obſerved ſometimes in a peaſant of good ſenſe, or in a witty child, *p.* 150.

3. There is a third ſpecies of thoughts, which have agreeableneſs mixed with delicacy; or rather, whoſe whole agreeableneſs, beauty, and merit, are owing to their delicacy. We may ſay, a delicate thought is the moſt exquiſite production, and, as it were, the quinteſſence of wit. In my opinion, tutors ſhould reaſon upon the delicacy of the thoughts which are introduced in works of genius, with relation to that of the works of nature. (*m*) The moſt delicate are thoſe which nature delights to work in miniature, and whoſe matter

(*i*) Magna ſervitus eſt magna fortuna. De Conſol. ad Polyb.

(*k*) Omnia ſerviliter pro dominatione. Hiſt. lib. 1.

(*l*) Inſanientis dum ſapientiæ conſultus erro ——Strenua nos exercet inertia ——Rerum concordia diſcors. Horat.

(*m*) Rerum natura nuſquam magis, quam in minimis tota. Plin. lib. 11. cap. 2.

In arctum coacta rerum naturæ majeſtas, multis nulla ſui parte mirabilior. Idem, lib. 37. Proœm.

matter being almoſt imperceptible, acts in ſuch a manner, that it is doubtful whether ſhe intends to diſcover or conceal her art. Such is a perfect inſect, the more worthy of admiration, as it is leſs viſible, according to Pliny, *p.* 158, 160.

Let us ſay, by way of an analogy, that a delicate thought has this property, *viz.* to be comprized in a few words; and that its ſenſe is not ſo viſible or conſpicuous. (*n*) One would at firſt ſight imagine, that it conceals a part of its ſenſe, on purpoſe that we may ſearch after, and gueſs at it; or at leaſt, that ſhe only preſents a glimpſe of it, to give us the pleaſure of diſcovering it entirely, if we have genius: for as we muſt have good eyes, and employ even thoſe of art, I mean teleſcopes and microſcopes, to behold the maſter-pieces of nature; the intelligent and clear-ſighted only are capable of diſcovering the whole force and ſenſe of a fine thought. This little myſtery is, as it were, the ſoul of the delicacy of thoughts; ſo that thoſe which have nothing myſterious either in their foundation or turn, and diſcover themſelves entirely at firſt ſight, are not properly delicate, how witty ſoever they may be in other reſpects. Whence we may conclude, that delicacy adds ſomething inexpreſſible to the ſublime, and to the agreeable or beautiful, which will appear more clearly by examples, *p.* 160, 161.

Pliny the panegyriſt tells his monarch, who had long refuſed the title of father of his country, and would not receive it till he thought he had deſerved it: (*o*) 'You are the only man who has been the father of 'his country before you were made ſo,' *p.* 162.

The river which made Egypt ſo fruitful, by its regular inundations, having miſſed overflowing for one ſeaſon, Trajan ſent great quantities of corn for the relief

(*n*) Auditoribus grata ſunt hæc, quæ cum intellexerint, acumine ſuo delectantur, et gaudent, non quaſi audiverint, ſed quaſi invenerint. Quintil. lib. 8. cap. 2.

(*o*) Soli omnium contigit tibi, ut p:ter patriæ eſſes, antequam fieres.

relief of the people. (*p*) "The Nile, ſays Pliny, never "flowed more abundantly for the glory of the Romans," *p.* 163.

The ſame author ſays upon Trajan's entry into Rome; (*q*) "Some proclaimed aloud, that they had ſeen enough "after they had ſeen you; and others, that it was now "neceſſary to extend life to the utmoſt," *p.* 165.

There is a great deal of delicacy in Virgil's reflection on the imprudence or weakneſs of Orpheus, who, as he was bringing back his wife out of Hell, looked back, and loſt her the ſame inſtant: (*r*) "A pardonable folly in-"deed, if the infernal gods were capable of pardoning," *p.* 178.

There is no leſs delicacy in Cicero's applauſe of Cæſar; "(*s*) 'Tis uſual with you to forget nothing "but injuries," *p.* 209.

Beſides the delicacy of thoughts, which are merely ingenious, there is one that reſults from the ſentiments, in which the natural affections have a greater ſhare than the underſtanding. (*t*) "I ſhall never ſee you more," ſays a poet on occaſion of the death of a brother he loved paſſionately; "I ſhall never ſee you more, my dear bro-"ther; you that were dearer to me than life; but I will "love you for ever." Another ſpeaks thus of a perſon who was very dear to him: (*u*) "You are to me a nu-"merous company in the moſt ſolitary and deſert places." But there is nothing more delicate than the complaints of a turtle dove, introduced ſpeaking in a little dialogue in verſe, between that bird and a man who paſſes by.

LE PASSANT.

Que fais-tu dans ce bois plaintive, tourterelle?

"Turtle, why moan you in this grove? LA

(*p*) Nilus Ægypto quidem ſæpe, ſed gloriæ noſtræ nunquam largior fluxit.

(*q*) Alii ſe ſatis vixiſſe, te viſo, te recepto: alii nunc magis eſſe vivendum prædicabant.

(*r*) Cum ſubita incautum dementia cepit amantem;
Ignoſcenda quidem, ſcirent ſi ignoſcere manes. Geor. l. 4.

(*s*) Obliviſci nihil ſoles, niſi injurias. Orat pro Ligar. n. 35.

(*t*) Nunquam ego te vita frater amabilior aſpiciam poſthac: at certe ſemper amabo. Catul. (*u*) In ſolis tu mihi turba locis. Tibul.

LA TOURTERELLE.

Je gémis : j'ai perdu ma campagne fidele.
" The loſs, alas ! of her I love."

LE PASSANT.

Ne crains tu point que l'oiſeleur
Ne te faſſe mourir comme elle ?
" The fowler's art doſt thou not fear,
" Who thy complaints perhaps may hear ?"

LA TOURTERELLE.

Si ce n'eſt lui, ce fera ma douleur.
" No, 'tis from him I hope relief,
" The end of life, the end of grief." P. 213, 216, 217.

I ſhall conclude this extract with a reflection no leſs rational than witty, of father Bouhours ; it is in his book of ingenious thoughts. " Whatever, ſays he, is " moſt delicate in the thoughts and expreſſions of au- " thors who have writ with great juſtneſs (and delicacy) " is loſt, when turned into another language ; not unlike " thoſe exquiſite eſſences whoſe ſubtle perfumes evapo- " rate, when poured out of one veſſel into another, p. 95.

Of SHINING THOUGHTS.

There is a kind of thoughts, little known to the writers of the Auguſtan age, and which were in no eſteem or currency, till the decline of eloquence. Theſe conſiſt in a ſhort, lively and ſhining way of expreſſing one's ſelf; which pleaſe chiefly by means of a certain point of wit, that ſtrikes us by its boldneſs and novelty, and by its ingenious, but very uncommon turn. Seneca had a great ſhare in introducing that vicious taſte at Rome ; and it was ſo general and predominant in (*u*) Quintilian's time,

(*u*) Nunc illud volunt, ut omnis locus, omnis ſenſus, in fine ſermonis feriat aurem. Turpe autem, ac prope nefas ducunt, reſpinare ullo loco, qui acclamationem non petierat. Quintil. l. 8. c. 5.

time, that the orators made it a law among themſelves, to cloſe almoſt every period with ſome ſparkling thought, in order to gain the plaudits and acclamations of the auditors.

Quintilian's reflections upon that ſubject are very judicious (*x*). He does not condemn ſuch kind of thoughts in themſelves, which may make an oration great and noble, and give it at the ſame time ſtrength, grace, and elevation; he only condemns the abuſe and too great affection of it. (*y*) He would have them be looked upon as the eyes of the diſcourſe; and eyes muſt not be ſpread over the whole body. (*z*) He agrees that this new ornament may be added to the manner of writing among the ancients, as it was allowed to add to the ancient way of living, a certain neatneſs and elegance, which could not be condemned, and of which, even endeavours ſhould be uſed to make a kind of virtue; but exceſs ſhould be avoided. (*a*) For after all, the ancient ſimplicity of ſpeaking would ſtill be more valuable than this new licence.

(*b*) Indeed, when theſe thoughts are too numerous, they hurt and ſuppreſs one another, like trees planted too near together; and occaſion the ſame obſcurity and confuſion in an oration, which too many figures do in a picture.

(*c*) Beſides, as theſe thoughts, whoſe beauty conſiſts in being ſhort and lively, are diſtinct from one another,

(*x*) Quod tantum in ſententia bona crimen eſt? Non cauſæ prodeſt? non judicem movet? non dicentem commendat? Ibid.

(*y*) Ego hæc lumina orationis velut oculos quoſdam eloquentiæ eſſe credo: ſed neque oculos eſſe toto corpore velim. Ibid.

(*z*) Patet media quædam via: ſicut in cultú victuque acceſſit aliquis citra reprehenſionem nitor, quem, ſicut poſſumus, adjiciamus virtutibus. Ibid.

(*a*) Si neceſſe ſit, veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim, quam iſtam novam licentiam.

(*b*) Denſitas earum obſtat invicem, ut in ſatis omnibus fructibuſque arborum nihil ad juſtam magnitudinem adoleſcere poteſt, quod loco, in quem creſcat, caret. Nec pictura, in qua nihil circumlitum eſt, eminet: ideoque artifices etiam, cum plura in unam tabulam opera contulerunt, ſpatiis diſtinguunt, ne umbræ corpora cadant. Ibid.

(*c*) Facit res eadem conciſam quoque orationem. Subſiſtit enim omnis ſententia;

ther, and each forms a complete ſenſe; the oration from thence becomes very disjointed and conciſe, without any connexion, and, as it were, compoſed rather of pieces and fragments, than of the members and parts, which form a whole or perfect body. Now, ſuch a compoſition ſeems to be entirely oppoſite to the harmony of an oration, which requires more connexion and extent.

(*d*) We may likewiſe ſay, that theſe ſhining thoughts cannot ſo juſtly be compared to a luminous flame, as to thoſe ſparks of fire which fly through the ſmoke.

(*e*) In fine, when our only care is to crowd them one upon the other, we become very indelicate in diſtinguiſhing and chuſing; and among ſuch a number, there muſt neceſſarily be a great many flat, puerile, and ridiculous ones.

It is obvious to thoſe who are ever ſo little acquainted with Seneca, that what I have now ſaid, is his pourtrait, and the peculiar character of his writings; and Quintilian obſerves it evidently in another place (*f*), where, after doing juſtice to the merit and learning of that great man, and acknowledging that we find in his works a great number of beautiful thoughts and juſt maxims for forming our manners, he adds, that with regard to eloquence, a vicious and depraved taſte runs through almoſt every part of them; and that they are more dangerous, becauſe they abound with agreeable faults, which we cannot

ſententia; ideoque poſt eam utrique aliud eſt initium. Unde ſoluta fere oratio, et è ſingulis non membris, ſed fruſtis collata, ſtructura caret; cum illa rotunda et undique circumcila, inſiſtere invicem nequeant. Ibid.

(*d*) Lumina illa non flammæ, ſed ſcintillis inter fumum emicantibus, ſimilia dixeris. Ibid.

(*e*) Hoc quoque accidit, quod ſolas captanti ſententias, multas neceſſe eſt dicere leves, frigidas, ineptas. Non enim poteſt eſſe delectus, ubi numero laboratur. Ibid.

(*f*) Multæ in eo claræque ſententiæ, multa enim etiam morum gratia legenda: ſed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciosiſſima, quod abundant dulcibus vitiis. Velles eum ſuo ingenio dixiſſe, alieno judicio. Nam—ſi non omnia ſua amaſſet, ſi rerum pondera minutiſſimis ſententiis non fregiſſet, conſenſu potius eruditorum, quam puerorum amore comprobaretur.——Multa probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda ſunt, eligere modo curæ ſit: quod utinam ipſe feciſſet! Digna enim fuit illa natura, quæ meliora vellet, quæ quod voluit effecit. Quintil. l. 10, c. 1.

cannot but approve. For that reaſon, he ſays, it were to be wiſhed that ſo fine a genius, capable of every thing great in eloquence, of ſo rich and fruitful an invention, had had a more correct taſte, and a more exact diſcernment; that he had been leſs enamoured of his own productions; that he had known how to make a proper choice of them; and, above all, that he had not weakened the important matters he treated, by a crowd of trifling thoughts, (*g*) which may deceive at firſt, from the appearance and glitter of wit, but which are found frigid and puerile, when examined with ſome attention.

I ſhall extract ſome paſſages from this author, that youth may compare his ſtile with Cicero's and Livy's, and examine whether Quintilian's judgment of it be well founded, or whether it be the effect of prejudice to Seneca.

I. CONFERENCE *between* DEMARATUS *and* XERXES.

" (*h*) Cum (*i*) bellum Græciæ indiceret Xerxes, ani-
" mum tumentem, oblitumque quam caducis confideret,
" nemo non impulit. Alius aiebat, non laturos nuncium
" belli, et ad primam adventus famam terga verſuros.
" Alius, nihil eſſe dubii quin illa mole non vinci ſolum
" Græcia, ſed obrui poſſet: magis verendum ne vacuas
" deſer-

(*g*) Plerique minimis etiam inventiunculis gaudent, quæ excuſſæ riſum habent, inventæ facie ingenii blandiuntur. Quintil. l. 8 c. 5.

(*h*) Senec. de benefic. l. 6. c. 31.

(*i*) At the time that Xerxes, puffed up with pride, and blinded with a vain opinion of his ſtrength, meditated a war againſt Greece, all the courtiers who were about him endeavoured to vie with each other, in puſhing him, by their extravagant flatteries, down the precipice to which his ambition led him; one ſaying, that the bare news of the war would fill the Greeks with confuſion, and that they would fly at the firſt report of his march. Another ſaid, that having ſo great an army, he was not only ſure of conquering Greece, but of entirely deſtroying it; and that there was nothing to fear, but that upon his arrival he ſhould find the cities abandoned, and the country a perfect deſert, by the precipitate flight of the people; and, conſequently, that his great armies would have no enemies to engage. On the other ſide, they gave him to underſtand, that nature itſelf was ſcarce capacious enough for him; that the ſeas were too narrow for his fleets; that no camp was large enough for his infantry, nor any plain for his cavalry; and that there would hardly be ſpace enough in the air for the darts which would be thrown from ſuch an infinite number of hands.

" deſertaſque urbes invenirent, et profugis hoſtibus va-
" ſtæ ſolitudines relinquerentur, non habituris, ubi tan-
" tas vires exercere poſſent. Alius, illi vix rerum natu-
" ram ſufficere : Anguſta eſſe, claſſibus maria, militi ca-
" ſtra, explicandis equeſtribus copiis campeſtria, vix pa-
" tere cœlum ſatis ad emittenda omni manu tela.

" (*k*) Cum in hunc modum multa undique jactarentur,
" quæ hominem nimia æſtimatione ſui furentem concita-
" rent ; Demaratus Lacedæmonius ſolus dixit, ipſam il-
" lam qua ſibi placeret multitudinem, indigeſtam et gra-
" vem, metuendam eſſe ducenti ; non enim vires, ſed
" pondus habere : immodica nunquam regi poſſe ; nec
" diu durare, quicquid regi non poteſt.

" (*l*) In primo, inquit, ſtatim monte Lacones obje&i
" dabunt tibi ſui experimentum. Tot iſta gentium millia
" trecenti morabuntur : hærebunt, et corporibus ob-
" ſtruent. Tota illos Aſia non movebit loco. Tan-
" tas minas belli, et pene totius humani generis rui-
" nam, pauciſſimi ſuſtinebunt. Cum te mutatis le-
" gibus ſuis natura tranſmiſerit, in ſemita hærebis, et
" æſtimabis futura damna, cum putaveris quanti
" Thermopylarum anguſta conſtiterint. Scies te fuga-
" ri poſſe, cum ſcieris poſſe retineri.

" Cedent

(*k*) Among all theſe compliments, which were ſo likely to turn the brain of a Prince, who was already intoxicated with the idea of his greatneſs, Demaratus, a Spartan, was the only man who durſt tell him, that the foundation of his confidence was the very thing he ought moſt to apprehend ; that ſo vaſt a body of forces, ſo enormous and monſtrous a throng had weight, but no ſtrength ; that it is impoſſible to govern or manage what has neither bounds nor meaſure, and that what cannot be governed, cannot ſubſiſt for any time.

(*l*) A handful of people whom you will meet on the firſt mountain you come to, will convince you of the courage of the Spartans ; three hundred of theſe will ſtop the millions you drag after you ; they will ſtand immoveable in the paſs which will be committed to their care, and they will defend it to the laſt breath, and will make a barrier and rampart of their bodies ; all the power of Aſia will not make them retreat one ſtep ; they alone will ſtand the dreadful onſet of almoſt the whole world united againſt them. After you have forced nature to change all her laws, in order to open a way for you, you will be ſtopped in a narrow paſſage. You may judge of the loſs you will afterwards ſuſtain, by that which the paſſage of Thermopylæ will occaſion, when, at the ſame time, you find they can ſtop you, you will alſo find they can put you to flight.

(*m*) " Cedent quidem tibi pluribus locis, velut torren-
" tis modo ablati, cujus cum magno terrore prima vis
" defluit: deinde hinc atque illinc coorientur, et tuis te
" viribis prement.

(*n*) " Verum eſt quod dicitur, majorem belli appara-
" tum eſſe, quam qui recipi ab his regionibus poſſit, quas
" oppugnare conſtituis. Sed hæc res contra nos eſt. Ob
" hoc ipſum, te Græcia vincet, quia non capit. Uti
" toto te non potes.

(*o*) " Præterea quæ una rebus ſalus eſt, occurrere ad
" primos rerum impetus, et inclinatis opem ferre non po-
" teris, nec fulcire ac firmare labantia. Multo ante vin-
" ceris, quam victum eſſe te ſentias.

(*p*) " Cæterum, non eſt quod exercitum tuum ob hoc
" ſuſtineri putes non poſſe, quia numerus ejus duci quo-
" que ignotus eſt. Nihil tam magnum eſt, quod perire
" non poſſit, cui naſcitur in perniciem, ut alia quieſcant,
" ex ipſa magnitudine ſua cauſa.

(*q*) " Acciderunt quæ Demaratus prædixerat. Divina
" atque

(*m*) Your armies, like an impetuous flood, whoſe firſt efforts nothing can reſiſt, may at firſt carry every thing before them; but your enemies will rally, immediately, and attacking you on different ſides, will deſtroy you by your own ſtrength.

(*n*) What is reported, is very true, viz. that the country you are going to attack, is not ſufficient to contain ſuch immenſe preparations of war; but this makes directly againſt us. Greece will conquer you, becauſe it cannot contain you; you will be able to employ only a part of yourſelf.

(*o*) Beſides, that which forms the ſecurity and refuge of an army, becomes abſolutely impracticable to you. You will neither be able to give proper orders, nor to come up time enough to the firſt ſhocks your army will receive, nor to ſupport thoſe who give away, nor encourage thoſe who begin to retire; ſo that you will be overcome long before you can be near enough to be ſenſible of it.

(*p*) To conclude, Do not flatter yourſelf, that nothing will be able to reſiſt your forces, becauſe their numbers are not known even to their general; there is nothing ſo great but may periſh, when though there is no other obſtacle, its own greatneſs is one cauſe for its ruin.

(*q*) Every thing happened according to Demaratus's prediction. Xerxes, who had made a reſolution to ſurmount all the obſtacles which gods and men ſhould oppoſe to his enterpriſes, and who had overthrown every thing that oppoſed his paſſage, was ſtopped by three hundred men; and, ſeeing, very ſoon the remains of his formidable armies diſperſed and defeated throughout all Greece, he found the difference between multitudes and an army.

" atque humana impellentem, et mutantem quicquid ob-
" ſtiterat, trecenti ſtare juſſerunt: ſtratuſque per totam
" paſſim Græciam Xerxes intellexit, quantum ab exer-
" citu turba diſtaret.

(*r*) " Itaque Xerxes, pudore quam damno miſerior,
" Demarato gratias egit, quod ſolus ſibi verum dixiſſet,
" et permiſit petere quod vellet. Petit ille ut Sardes,
" maximam Aſiæ civitatem, curru vectus intraret, rec-
" tam capite tiaram gerens: id ſolis datum regibus. Dig-
" nus fuerat præmio, antequam peteret. Sed quam mi-
" ſerabilis gens, in qua nemo fuit qui verum diceret regi,
" niſi qui non dicebat ſibi!

We muſt own that this little piece of Seneca is very fine, and that Demaratus's diſcourſe is full of good ſenſe and juſt reflections, but methinks the ſtile is too uniform and the antitheſis too often made uſe of. The thoughts are too cloſe and too much crowded. (*s*) They are all disjointed from one another, which makes the ſtile too conciſe and abrupt. (*t*) A kind of point concludes almoſt every period. " Scies te fugari poſſe, cum ſcieris poſſe
" retineri. . . . Ob hoc ipſum te Græcia vincet, quia
" non capit. . . . Multo ante vinceris, quam victum eſſe
" te ſentias." This is not ſo diſtaſteful, when we read only one diſtinct paſſage; but when a whole work is in the ſame ſtrain, 'tis not eaſy to bear the reaking of it for any time, whereas thoſe of Cicero and Livy never tire.

Beſides, can we uſe ſo unconnected and corrupt a ſtile for diſcourſes, where the auditors are to be inſtructed and affected; and can it therefore be proper for the bar or the pulpit? We

(*r*) Then Xerxes, more unhappy from the ſhame and diſgrace of ſo ſenſeleſs an expedition, than the loſs he had ſuſtained, thanked Demaratus, becauſe he only told him the truth, and gave him leave to aſk what favour he would; upon which the latter deſired the liberty of making his entry into Sardis (one of the greateſt cities of Aſia) in a chariot, with an upright tiara upon his head, a privilege granted to kings only. He would have deſerved that favour, had he not aſked it. But what idea ſhall we entertain of a nation, where there was not a man to ſpeak truth to the king, except one who did not tell it to himſelf?

(*s*) Unde ſoluta fere oratio, et è ſingulis non membris ſed fruſtis collata.

(*t*) Nunc illud volunt, ut omnis locus, omnis ſenſus, in fine ſermonis feriat aurem.

We ſometimes meet in Cicero with this kind of thoughts cloſing a period in a ſhort and ſprightly manner; but he is diſcreet and ſparing in the uſe of thoſe graces, which are, as it were, the ſalt and ſeaſoning of a diſcourſe; and which, for that reaſon, muſt not be laviſhed.

(*u*) " Leviculus (*x*) ſane noſter Demoſthenes, qui illo " ſuſurro delectari ſe dicebat aquam ferentis mulierculæ, " ut nos in Græcia eſt, inſuſurrantiſque alteri: Hic eſt " ille Demoſthenes. Quid hoc levius? at quantus ora- " tor! Sed apud alios loqui videlicet didicerat, non mul- " tum ipſe ſecum. *This thought is very like that of Sene-* " *ca's*, Quam miſerabilis gens, in qua nemo fuit qui ve- " rum diceret regi, niſi qui non dicebat ſibi!"

II. Seneca's Reflection *upon a Saying of* Augustus.

(*y*) Seneca relates a ſaying of Auguſtus, who being very much troubled for his having divulged the irregularities of his daughter, ſaid, " he would not have been " guilty of ſo much imprudence, had Agrippa or Mecæ- " nas been living." Seneca, to heighten this ſentence, makes a very judicious reflection upon it. (*z*) " Adeo " tot habenti millia hominum, duos reparare difficile eſt! " Cæſæ ſunt legiones, et protinus ſcriptæ: fracta claſſis, " et intra paucos dies natavit nova: ſævitum eſt in ope- " ra publica ignibus, ſurrexerunt meliora conſumptis. " Tota vita, Agrippæ et Mecænatis vacavit locus."

Nothing

(*u*) Demoſthenes, whom we admire ſo much, muſt have been very vain, when he was ſo ſenſibly affected, as he himſelf owns, with the little flattering expreſſion of a woman that carried water, who pointing at him with her finger, whiſpers to a neighbour, *That is Demoſthenes.* How mean was this! And yet, how great an orator was he! But this proceeded from his having learnt to ſpeak to others, and ſeldom ſpoke to himſelf.

(*x*) Lib. 5. Tuſc. n. 103. (*y*) De benef. l. 6. c. 32.

(*z*) So difficult it is, among ſo many millions, to find enough to repair the loſs of two! Legions have been cut to pieces, others have been raiſed immediately; a fleet has been wrecked, a new one has been built in a few days; a fire has conſumed public edifices, when others more magnificent than the former, riſe almoſt immediately out of the earth: but while Auguſtus lived, the place of Agrippa and Mecænas was always vacant.

Nothing is more beautiful or judicious than this thought, "All loſſes may be repaired except that of a friend." But he ſhould have ſtopped there.

[z] "Quid putum?" adds Seneca. "Deſuiſſe ſimiles "qui aſſumerentur, an ipſius vitium fuiſſe, qui maluit "queri quam quærere? Non eſt quod exiſtimemus "Agrippam et Mecænatem ſolitos illi vera dicere: qui, "ſi vixiſſent, inter diſſimulantes fuiſſent. Regalis in-"genii mos eſt, in præſentium contumeliam amiſſa lau-"dare, et his virtutem dare vera dicendi, à quibus jam "audiendi periculum non eſt."

Beſides, that nothing is more trifling than this play of words, *maluit queri quam quærere*; the ſecond reflection deſtroys the firſt entirely. This ſuppoſes it a difficult matter to ſupply the loſs of good friends, and the other affirms quite the contrary. Farther, why does Seneca offer ſo much injury to Auguſtus, or rather to his friends, as to ſay, they did not uſe to tell him the truth; and that they durſt not do it on the occaſion in queſtion? Mecænas had always the liberty of ſpeaking freely to him; and we know that at a certain trial, where Auguſtus ſeemed inclinable to be cruel, this favourite, not being able to approach him by reaſon of the crowd, threw a little note to him in writing, by which he deſired him [a] "to come away, and not act the part of the "executioner." As for Agrippa, he had courage enough to adviſe Auguſtus to reſtore the commonwealth to its ancient liberty, at a time that he was maſter of the empire, and deliberating whether he ſhould form a republican or monarchical ſtate.

We

[z] What ſhall I think of this ſaying of Auguſtus? Muſt I really imagine there were not ſuch men left in the empire as he could make choice of for friends; or was it his own fault, chuſing to complain, rather than to give himſelf the trouble of ſearching for them? It is not probable that Agrippa and Mecænas uſed to tell him truth; and had they been living, they would have been as ſilent as others on this occaſion. But it is a piece of policy among princes, to ſpeak well of the dead, to ſhame the living; and to applaud the generous liberty of the former, in telling the truth, of which they have no longer any reaſon to be afraid.

[a] Surge tandem carnifex.

We ſee by this, that Seneca wanted a quality eſſential in an orator; that is, to know how to keep within the bounds of truth and beauty, and to prune, without mercy, whatever is more than neceſſary to the perfection of the piece, according to that fine rule in Horace, [*b*] "Recideret omne quod ultra perfectum traheretur." [*c*] Seneca was too much enamoured of his own genius; he could not prevail with himſelf to loſe or ſacrifice any of his productions; and often weakened the ſtrength, and debaſed the greatneſs of his ſubjects, by little trifling thoughts.

III. *Another Thought of* SENECA *upon the Scarcity of ſincere Friends.*

[*d*] We meet with another very beautiful thought in the ſame place, upon the ſubject of friendſhip. Seneca ſpeaks of the crowd who make their court to great men.

[*e*] "Ad quemcunque iſtorum veneris, ſays he, quorum "ſalutatio urbem concutit, ſcito, etiamſi animadverteris "obſeſſos ingenti frequentia vicos, et commeantium in "utramque partem catervis itinera compreſſa, tamen "venire te in locum hominibus plenum, amicis "vacuum. In pectore amicus, non in atrio quæritur. "Illo recipiendus eſt, illic retinendus, et in ſenſus recon-"dendus."

It muſt be acknowledged, there is great beauty and vivacity in this thought and turn, "venire te in locum "hominibus plenum, amicis vacuum." After all that has been ſaid of the buſtle and noiſe in the city, becauſe of

[*b*] Satyr. 10. lib. 1.

[*c*] Si aliqua contempſiſſet. . . . Si non omnia ſua amaſſet, ſi rerum pondera minutiſſimis ſententiis non fregiſſet, conſenſu potius eruditorum quam puerorum amore comprobaretur. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

[*d*] Senec. de benef. l. 6 c. 34.

[*e*] If you viſit any of thoſe great men, to whom the whole city make their court; know, that though you find the ſtreets beſieged, and the roads barricaded by incredible numbers of people, who go backward and forward; yet you come into a place full of men, and empty of friends. We muſt look for a friend in the heart, and not in the antichamber. It is there we muſt receive and keep him; 'tis there we muſt lodge him ſafely, as a depoſit of ineſtimable value.

of the incredible concourſe of citizens who hurry to viſit the great, and fill their palaces; this antitheſis is very fine, " in locum hominibus plenum, amicis vacuum; " into a place full of men, empty of friends:" but to what end are the following words, " in pectore amicus, " non in atrio quæritur? A friend is to be ſought in the " heart, and not in the antichamber?" I only ſee an antitheſis here, and nothing further, and I confeſs I have not been able to underſtand it.

F. Bouhours has not forgot to tell us what judgment we are to form of Seneca. " Of all ingenious writers, " ſays he, Seneca is the leaſt capable of reducing his " thoughts to the boundaries required by good ſenſe. " He would always pleaſe, and he is ſo afraid that a " thought, which is beautiful in itſelf, ſhould not ſtrike, " that he repreſents it in all its lights, and beautifies it " with all the colours he can throw upon it: ſo that " one may ſay of him, what his father ſaid of an orator of " his time: (*f*) *By repeating the ſame thought, and turning* " *it ſeveral ways, he ſpoils it: not being ſatisfied with one* " *ſaying a thing well, he improves its merit quite away.*"

He cites a ſaying of Cardinal Palavicino, which is pretty much in the Italian taſte, but is however judicious. " Seneca, ſays the Cardinal, perfumes his thoughts with " amber and muſk, which, at laſt, affect the head; they " are pleaſing at firſt, but very offenſive afterwards."

Another very celebrated author forms the ſame judgment of Seneca; and gives, in few words, excellent rules with regard to thoughts.

(*g*) " There are, ſays he, two ſorts of beauty in elo- " quence, of which we muſt endeavour to make " youth ſenſible. The one conſiſts in beautiful and " juſt, but, at the ſame time, extraordinary and ſur- " priſing thoughts. Lucian, Seneca, and Tacitus, are " full of thoſe beauties. The other, on the contrary, " does

(*f*) Habet hoc Montanus vitium, ſententias ſuas repetendo corrumpit: dum non eſt contentus unam rem ſemel bene dicere, efficit ne bene dixerit. Controver. 5. l. 9.

(*g*) *M. Nicole in his education of a prince, 2d part, n.* 39. 40.

" does not any way conſiſt in uncommon thoughts, but " a certain natural air, in an eaſy, elegant and delicate " ſimplicity, which does not force attention; but pre- " ſents common, yet lively and agreeable images; and " which knows ſo happily how to follow all the impulſ- " es of the mind, that it never fails of offering ſuch ob- " jects to it on every ſubject, as may affect it; and to " expreſs all the paſſions and emotions, which the thing " it repreſents ought to produce in it. Terence and " Virgil are famous for this ſort of beauty; from whence " we may obſerve, that it is more difficult than the " other, ſince theſe two authors are much the hardeſt to " to imitate.

" If we have not the art of blending this natural and " ſimple beauty with that of noble thoughts, the more " we endeavour to excel in writing and ſpeaking, the " worſe we ſhall probably ſucceed; and the more ge- " nius we have, the more apt we ſhall be to fall into " a vicious kind of eloquence. For hence it is we give " into points and conceit, which is a very bad ſpecies of " writing. And though the thoughts ſhould be juſt " and beautiful in themſelves, yet they would tire and " oppreſs the mind, if too numerous, and applied to " ſubjects which do not require them. Seneca, who " is extraordinary when we conſider him ſeparately or " in parts, wearies the mind, if we read much of him; " and I believe that if Quintilian had reaſon to ſay of " him, that he is full of pleaſing faults, *abundat dulcibus* " *vitiis*, we might juſtly ſay of him, that he is full of " beauties which are diſagreeable by being too much " crowded; and becauſe he ſeemed reſolved to ſay no- " thing that was plain, but to turn every thing into " point and conceit. There is no fault we muſt endea- " vour to make children, who have made ſome advan- " ces in ſtudy, more ſenſible of, than this, becauſe none " contributes more towards depriving us of the fruits of " our ſtudies, with regard to language and eloquence."

(*b*) The reading of Seneca, may however be very beneficial to youth, when their taſte and judgment begin to be formed by the ſtudy of Cicero. Seneca is an original, capable of giving wit to others, and of making invention eaſy to them. A great many paſſages may be borrowed from his treatiſe of clemency, and from that of the ſhortneſs of life, which will accuſtom youth to find thoughts of themſelves. This ſtudy will likewiſe teach them to diſtinguiſh the good from the bad. But the maſter muſt direct them in it, and not leave them to themſelves, leſt they ſhould miſtake the very faults of Seneca for beauties; which are the more dangerous to them, as they are more conformable to the genius of their age, and have charms in them, as we before obſerved, capable of ſeducing the moſt judicious.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Of the CHOICE *of* WORDS.

WE have ſeen by all the examples hitherto cited, how uſeful the choice of words is in repreſenting thoughts and proofs to advantage, and giving a clear idea of their beauty and force. Expreſſions indeed give things a new grace, and communicate that lively colouring which is ſo well adapted to form rich paintings and ſpeaking pictures: So that by the changing, and ſometimes by the irregular placing of the words only, almoſt the whole beauty of diſcourſe ſhall diſappear.

One would think, that the chief uſe a man ſhould make of his reaſon, ſhould be, to attend only to the things which are ſaid to him, without giving himſelf any trouble about the manner in which they are propoſed. But we experience the contrary every day; and it is perhaps one of the effects of the corruption and

(*b*) Verùm ſic quoque jam robuſtis, et ſeveriore genere ſatis firmatis, legendus, vel ideo, quod exercere poteſt utrinque judicium. Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

and degeneracy of our nature; that being immerſed in ſenſible pleaſures, we are ſcarce affected with any thing but what ſtrikes and moves the ſenſes; and that we ſeldom judge either of thoughts or of men, otherwiſe than by their dreſs and ornament.

Not that I think it a fault to prefer what is embelliſhed to what is not ſo. We have a ſtrong bias and inclination not only for what is good and true, but likewiſe for what is beautiful; and this attraction is derived to us from the Creator, who ſcarce preſents any thing to our eyes that is not lovely and amiable. The viciouſneſs in this, is, that we are either more touched with outſide and ornament, than truth; or are affected with embelliſhments only, without any regard to things themſelves. But it is agreeable to the primary deſign of the Creator, that external beauty and agreeableneſs ſhould be of ſervice to ſet off and recommend what is otherwiſe good and true.

An orator is therefore under the abſolute neceſſity of being particularly careful and ſtudious of elocution, (*i*) which may enable him to produce his thoughts in their full light; for without this, all his other qualifications, how great ſoever, would be of no uſe. This branch muſt be very eſſential to eloquence, ſince it received its name from it. (*k*) And indeed we find that elocution chiefly diſtinguiſhes the merit of an orator; forms the difference of ſtiles, on which the ſucceſs of an oration generally depends, and which, properly ſpeaking, art teaches us; for the reſt depends more on genius and nature.

We have treated elſewhere of the propriety and perſpicuity of words; and we are now upon their elegance and force. It is ſurpriſing that words, which are common to every one, and have no intrin-

(*i*) Eloqui, hoc eſt omnia quæ mente conceperis promere atque ad audientes perferre: ſine quo ſupervacua ſunt priora, ſimilia gladio condito, atque intra vaginam ſuam hærenti. Quintil. in Proœm. l. 8.

(*k*) Hoc maximè docetur: hoc nullus niſi arte aſſequi poteſt: hôc maximè orator oratore præſtantior: hôc genera ipſa dicendi alia aliis potiora; ut appareat in hoc et vitium et virtutem eſſe dicendi. Ibid.

ſic or peculiar beauty, ſhould acquire, in a moment, a luſtre that alters them entirely, when managed with art, and applied to certain uſes or occaſions. *Edificare*, i. e. *to build*, when ſpoke of a houſe, is a very plain word; but when the poet employs it to expreſs the ornaments with which the women decked the different ſtages of their head dreſſes,

(*l*) Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput—

it is like a diamond that ſparkles with a ſtrong light. Boileau has finely imitated Juvenal's thoughts and expreſſion:

Et qu'une main ſavante, avec tant d'artifice,
Bâtit de ſes cheveux l'élégant édifice.

We may indeed affirm, that words have no value but what is communicated to them, and the art of the workman gives them. As they are intended to expreſs our thoughts, they ought to grow out of them (*m*); for good expreſſions are generally affixed to the things themſelves, and follow them as the ſhadow does the body. It is an error to think we muſt always ſearch for them out of the ſubject, as though they hid themſelves from us, and we were obliged to employ a kind of violence in uſing them. (*n*) The moſt natural are the beſt. I ſuppoſe,

(*l*) Juvenal. Sat. 7. v. 500.

(*m*) Res et ſententiæ vi ſua verba parient, quæ ſemper ſatis ornata mihi quidem videri ſolent, ſi ejuſmodi ſunt ut ea res ipſa peperiſſe videatur. Cic. 2. de Orat. n. 146.

Rerum copia, verborum copiam gignit. Cic. 3 de Orat. n. 125.

Cum de rebus grandioribus dicas, ipſæ res verba rapiunt. Lib. 3. de fin. n. 19.

Verba erunt in officio——ſic ut ſemper ſenſibus inhærere videantur, atque ut umbra corpus ſequi. Quintil. in Proœm. l. 8.

Plerumque optima rebus cohærent, et cernuntur ſuo lumine. At nos quærimus illa, tanquam lateant ſemper, ſeque ſubducant.——Optima ſunt minime accerſita, et ſimplicibus atque ab ipſa veritate profectis ſimilia. Ibid.

(*n*) Qui rationem loquendi primum cognoverit, tum lectione multa et idonea copioſam ſibi verborum ſupellectilem comparavit——ei res cum nominibus ſuis occurrent. Sed opus eſt ſtudio præcedente, et acquiſita facultate et quaſi repoſita. Ibid.

Onerandum

ſuppoſe, as I obſerved elſewhere, that people have diligently ſtudied the language they writ in, that they have made a great collection of rich expreſſions from a cloſe and ſerious commerce with good authors; but above all, that they have furniſhed themſelves with all the knowledge requiſite in an orator: then the diction will give them little trouble. It is with words in compoſing, as with ſervants in a well-regulated family; they do not wait till called for, they come of themſelves, and are always ready when wanted. The only difficulty lies in chuſing, and knowing how to employ them in their proper places.

This choice coſts us more time and trouble in the beginning, we being then obliged to examine, weigh, and compare things; but it becomes afterwards ſo eaſy and natural, that the (*o*) words offer themſelves, and riſe under the pen, almoſt without our thinking of them (*p*). A nice and exact care is required at firſt, but it ought to leſſen as we improve. There are however ſome orators, who being always diſſatisfied with themſelves, and very ingenious in giving themſelves pain, deſpiſe all the expreſſions which occur to them at firſt, though ever ſo uſeful, in order to ſearch after the moſt beautiful, the brighteſt, and moſt uncommon; and who loſe time in torturing themſelves with wrangling with every word, and almoſt every ſyllable.

But

Onerandum complendumque pectus maximarum rerum et plurimarum ſuavitate, copia, varietate. Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 121.

Celeritatem dabit conſuetudo. Paulatim res facilius ſe oſtendent, verba reſpondebunt, compoſitio ſequetur: cuncta denique, ut in familia bene inſtituta in officio erunt——ſic ut non requiſita reſpondere, ſed ut ſemper ſenſibus inhærere videantur. Quintil. l. 10. c. 3. et l. 8. in Proœm.

(*o*) Verba omnia, quæ ſunt cujuſque generis, maxime illuſtria ſub acumen ſtyli ſubeant et ſuccedant neceſſe eſt. Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 151.

(*p*) Iſta quærendi, judicandi, comparandi anxietas, dum diſcimus adhibenda eſt, non cum dicimus.——Quibuſdam tamen nullus finis calumniandi eſt, et cum ſingulis pene ſyllabis commorandi, qui, etiam cum optima ſint reperta, quærunt aliquid quod ſit magis antiquum, remotum, inopinatum——increduli quidam, et de ingenio ſuo peſſime meriti, qui diligentiam putant facere ſibi ſcribendi difficultatem. Quintil. in Proœm. l. 8.

(*q*) But this is an unprofitable labour, a miſtaken delicacy, which at laſt only extinguiſhes the fire of the imagination, and makes the orator unhappy! The art of ſpeaking would be of no great value, did it always coſt ſo much pains, or were we condemned all our lives to the tedious taſk of hunting after words, and of weighing and adjuſting them. The orator, if he deſerves the name, muſt be poſſeſſed of all the treaſures of eloquence, and of the art of managing them; like the poſſeſſor of an eſtate, who diſpoſes of it as he thinks fit.

There are ſeveral examples relating to the choice of words, in the article where I have treated of the elegance and delicacy of the Latin tongue; to which I will add a few more in this place.

Appius uſes a compariſon taken from hunting, to exhort the Romans to continue the ſiege of Veii in winter; telling them, that the pleaſure we find in it makes us forget the greateſt fatigues, and carries us into the moſt ſteep, craggy places, in ſpite of the ſeverity of the weather. (*r*) "Obſecro vos venandi ſtudium ac voluptas homines per nives ac pruinas in montes ſylvaſque rapit: belli neceſſitatibus eam patientiam non adhibebimus, quam vel luſus ac voluptas elicere ſolet?" How ſtrong is the word *rapit!* To have a juſt ſenſe of it, we need only compare it with another expreſſion which Seneca uſes in a thought not unlike this. He ſpeaks of merchants who undertake long and dangerous voyages by ſea and land through an inſatiable thirſt of gain. (*s*) "Alium mercandi præceps cupiditas circa omnes terras, omnia maria, ſpe lucri ducit." The

(*q*) Abominanda hæc infelicitas erat, quæ et curſum dicendi refrænat, et calorem cogitationis extinguit mora et diffidentia. Ibid.

Neque enim vis ſumma dicendi eſt admiratione digna, ſi infelix uſque ad ultimum, ſolicitudo perſequitur, ac oratorem macerat et coquit, aptè verba vertenti, et perpendendis coagmentandiſque eis intabeſcentem. Nitidus ille, et ſublimis, et locuples, circumfluentibus undique eloquentiæ copiis imperat. Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.

(*r*) Liv. lib. 5. n. 5. (*s*) De brevit. vitæ, c. 2.

The word *ducit* is too ſlow for ſo violent a paſſion as avarice: *præceps cupiditas.*

Salluſt condemns the fury of ſoldiers againſt the vanquiſhed, and accounts for it thus: "Igitur hi milites, "poſtquam victoriam adepti ſunt, nihil reliqui victis "facere. Quippe ſecundæ res ſapientum animos fati- "gant: ne illi, corruptis moribus, victoriæ tempera- "rent." I would only fix upon this word *fatigant.* Is it poſſible to give a ſhorter or more lively repreſentation of the hard trials which moſt good people undergo in proſperity? It attacks them, purſues them inceſſantly, makes perpetual war againſt them, and does not leave them till it has deſpoiled them of their virtue; and if it cannot conquer them by force, it ſeems to hope at leaſt that they will give up their arms through fatigue and wearineſs. *Secundæ res ſapientum animos fatigant.*

This expreſſion makes me call to mind another of Tacitus, which is full as emphatical. (*t*) "An cum Ti- "berius, poſt tantam rerum experientiam vi dominati- "onis convulſus et mutatus ſit, C. Cæſarem, &c. Which d'Ablancourt tranſlates to this purpoſe: "If Tiberius, "after ſuch long experience, ſuffered himſelf to be cor- "rupted by his good fortune, what muſt become of "Caligula? &c. This tranſlation enervates the whole force of the thought, which conſiſts in theſe two words, *convulſus*, and *vi dominationis. Convellere* ſignifies to tear away, to eradicate, to carry away by force, and to diſplace a thing by violence. There is in ſovereign power a pomp, a pride and haughtineſs which attack the beſt princes with a violence they cannot guard againſt; ſo that being torn from themſelves, and their good inclinations, they are ſoon changed into other men. *Vi dominationis convulſus et mutatus.*

The ſame author ſpeaks of proſperity, in his hiſtories, in the ſame ſenſe with Salluſt, but under another idea. (*u*) "Fortunam adhuc tantum adverſam tuliſti. Se- "cundæ res acrioribus ſtimulis animos explorant: quia "miſeriæ

(*t*) Annal. l. 6. c. 48. (*u*) Hiſtor. l. 1. c. 13.

" miſeriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur. Fidem, " libertatem, amicitiam, præcipua humani animi bona, " tu quidem eadem conſtantia retinebis; ſed alii per " obſequium imminuent. Irrumpet adulatio, blandi- " tiæ peſſimum veri affectus venenum, ſua cuique uti- " litas." This paſſage is taken from Galba's ſpeech to Piſo, on his adopting and making him his aſſociate in the empire, which d'Ablancourt has tranſlated to this purpoſe: " Fortune has hitherto been averſe to you; " ſhe is now changing to your advantage. Be now " careful to make yourſelf capable of ſupporting her " favours as well as her frowns. For the incentives " of proſperity are much more powerful than thoſe of " adverſity; becauſe we yield to the one, and reſiſt " the other. Although you ſhould preſerve your vir- " tue, yet all thoſe near your perſon will loſe theirs. " Flattery will take the place of truth, and intereſt " that of affection, to which they are poiſon and ve- " nom." Much might be ſaid upon this tranſlation, but that would be foreign to our preſent purpoſe. I would only obſerve, that it has not preſerved the beauty of theſe words, *irrumpet adulatio*, which import, that whatever meaſures and precautions Piſo might take to keep off flattery, ſhe would however force herſelf a paſſage, and, in a manner, break through all the barriers he might oppoſe againſt her. The French does not ſufficiently repreſent that idea; *Flattery will take the place of truth.*

Pliny the naturaliſt aſcribes the decay and ruin of morals to the prodigious expences of Scaurus during his ædileſhip. He expreſſes this thought in a wonderful manner, by a very few words, which are highly emphatical. (*x*) " Cujus neſcio an ædilitas maxime proſtraverit " mores." His ædileſhip completed the ruin of morals.

In all our good French writers, we meet with a multitude of expreſſions, either ſprightly or emphatical, ſhining or beautiful.

That

(*x*) Lib. 36. c. 15.

(*x*) "That man (*Maccabeus*) whom God hath ſet over "Iſrael, like a wall of braſs, where the forces of Aſia were "ſo often ſhattered, after defeating powerful armies.... "came every year, as though he had been the meaneſt of "the Iſraelites, to repair with his triumphant hands the "breaches which the enemy had made in the ſanctuary.

"We ſaw him, (*M. de Turenne*) in the famous battle "of the Downs, force the weapons out of the hands of "the mercenary troops, when they were going to fall on "the vanquiſhed with a brutal fury."

"He won the hearts of thoſe, who are generally kept "within the limits of their duty by fear of puniſhment "only, with the obligation of reſpect and friendſhip.... "By what inviſible chains did he thus lead the will?"

"How often did he make his greateſt efforts, to tear off "the fatal bandage which cloſed his eyes againſt truth?"

We might obſerve in many of the above cited examples, that epithets contribute very much to the elegance and ſtrength of an oration. They chiefly produce that effect, when they are figurative and metaphorical, according to Quintilian's obſervation. (*y*) "Diſcamus ſpes effrænatas "et animum in futura eminentem velut in vinculis habe-"re.... (*z*) Vide quantum rerum per unam gulam tran-"ſiturarum permiſceat luxuria, terrarum mariſque va-"ſtatrix." The ſame Seneca ſpeaks thus in an excellent eneomium upon the death of the wife of a provincial governor: (*a*) "Loquax et ingenioſa in contumelias præ-"fectorum provincia, in qua etiam qui vitaverunt cul-"pam, non effugerunt infamiam, eam velut unicum ſanc-"titatis exemplum ſuſpexit." Cicero ſays ſomething like this of his brother. (*b*) "Quæ cum honeſta ſint in his "privatis noſtris quotidianiſque rationibus; in tanto im-"perio, tam depravatis moribus, tam corruptrice pro-"vincia, divina videantur neceſſe eſt."

(*c*) A diſcourſe without epithets is languid, and ſeems

(*x*) M. Flechier. (*y*) Sen. de tranq. anim. (*z*) Idem, epiſt. 95.
(*a*) De conſ. ad Helv. c. 17. (*b*) Ep. 1. ad Quint. frat. l. 1.
(*c*) Talis eſt ratio hujuſce virtutis, ut ſine oppoſitis nuda ſit et incompta.

almoſt without life or ſoul. However, we muſt not multiply them too much. For, to uſe Quintilian's compariſon, it is with epithets in a diſcourſe as with ſervants in an army, who would be extremely burdenſome, and of no other uſe but to embarraſs it, if every ſuch ſoldier had one; for then the number would be doubled, but not the ſtrength.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

Of the ORDER *and* DISPOSITION *of* WORDS.

IT muſt be owned, that the placing of words contributes very much to the beauty, and ſometimes even to the ſtrength of a diſcourſe. (*d*) Nature has implanted a taſte in man, which makes him ſenſible to harmony and number; and in order to introduce this kind of harmony and concert into languages, we need only conſult nature, ſtudy the genius of thoſe languages, and ſound and interrogate, as it were, the ear, which (*e*) Cicero juſtly calls a proud and diſdainful judge. Indeed, let a thought be ever ſo beautiful in itſelf, if the words which expreſs it are ill placed, the delicacy of the ear is ſhocked; (*f*) a harſh and inharmonious

compta oratio. Ne oneretur tamen multis. Nam ſit longa et impedita, ut—eam judices ſimilem agmini totidem lixas habenti, quot milites quoque: in duo et numerus eſt duplex, nec duplum virium. Quintil. l. 8. c. 6.

(*d*) Natura ducimur ad modos. Quintil. l. 9. c. 4.

Aures, vel animus aurium, nuncio naturalem quandam in ſe continet vocum omnium mentionem——Animadverſum eſt eadem natura admonente, eſſe quoſdam certos curſus concluſioneſque verborum. Orat. n. 177, 178.

(*e*) Graves ſententiæ in conditis verbis elatæ offendunt aures, quarum eſt judicium ſuperbiſſimum. Orat. n. 150.

Aurium ſenſus faſtidioſiſſimus. Lib. 1. ad Heren. n. 32.

(*f*) Itaque et longiora et breviora judicat, et perfecta ac moderata ſemper expectat. Mutila ſentit quædam, et quaſi decurtata, quibus tanquam debito fraudetur: productiora alia, et quaſi immoderatius excurrentia; quæ magis etiam aſpernantur aures. Orat. n. 177, 178.

Optime de illa (compoſitione) judicant aures, quæ et plena ſentiunt, et parum expleta deſiderant, et fragoſis offenduntur, et lenibus mulcentur, et contortis excitantur, et ſtabilia probant, clauda deprehendunt, redundantia et nimia faſtidiunt. Quint. lib. 9. cap 4.

inharmonious compoſition grates it; whereas it is generally ſoothed with that which is ſoft and flowing. If the harmony be not ſtrong, and the cadence too quick, the ear is ſenſible that ſomething is wanting; and is not ſatisfied. But, on the contrary, if there is any thing heavy and ſuperfluous, it cannot bear it. In a word, nothing can give it pleaſure but a full and harmonious flow of words.

To prove that this taſte is natural, we need only obſerve, (*g*) that it is common to the learned and unlearned; but with this difference, that (*h*) the former know the reaſons, and the other judge by opinion only. Thus (*i*) Cicero cannot conceive how is it poſſible for a man not to be ſenſible to the harmony of the oration; and he does not judge of it ſo much by his own experience, as by what frequently happened to a whole aſſembly, who were ſo charmed with the cloſe of harmonious periods, that they diſcovered their ſatisfaction and taſte by univerſal acclamations.

It is then of the greateſt importance that youth ſhould be taught early to diſcover this order and diſpoſition of words. (*k*) We muſt make them admire, how words, in the orator's hands, are like ſoft wax, which

(*g*) Unum eſt, et ſimplex aurium judicium, et promiſcue ac communiter ſtultis ac ſapientibus à natura datum. Cic. pro Font. n. 12.

(*h*) Docti rationem componendi intelligant, indocti voluptatem. Quintil. lib. 9. cap. 4.

(*i*) Quod qui non ſentiunt, quas aures habeant, aut quid in his hominis ſimile ſit, neſcio. Meæ quidem, &c. Quid dico meas? Conciones ſæpe exclamare vidi, cum apte verba cecidiſſent. Orat. n. 168.

(*k*) Nihil eſt tam tenerum, neque tam flexibile, neque quod tam facile ſequatur quocumque ducas, quam oratio.—Ea nos (verba) cum jacentia ſuſtulimus è medio, ſicut moliſſimam ceram ad noſtrum arbitrium formamus et fingimus. Itaque tum graves ſumus, tum ſubtiles, tum mediùm quiddam tenemus: ſic inſtitutam noſtram ſententiam ſequitur orationis genus. Lib 3. de Orat. n. 176, 177.

Rebus accommodanda compoſitio, ut aſperis aſperos etiam numeros adhiberi oporteat, et cum dicente æque audientem exhorreſcere. Quintil. lib. 9. cap. 4.

Idque ad omnem rationem et aurium voluptatem, et animorum motum mutatur et veritur. Ibid.

which he handles and manages at pleaſure, and to which he gives whatever form he thinks fit: how by the different ſtructure he gives them, the oration proceeds ſometimes with a majeſtic gravity, or runs with rapidity; ſometimes charms and raviſhes the auditor by the ſoftneſs of its harmony, or fills him with horror by a ſharp and harſh cadence, according to the ſubject he treats. We muſt make youth obſerve, that this ranging of expreſſions has a ſurpriſing effect, not only as it pleaſes, but makes an impreſſion on peoples minds. (*l*) For as Quintilian obſerves, it is ſcarce poſſible that an expreſſion ſhould reach the heart, when it begins with grating the ear, which is, as it were, its portico and avenue. On the other hand, a man is willing to hear what pleaſes him (*m*), and this induces him to believe what is ſaid to him.

As the quality and meaſure of words do not depend upon the orator, and that he finds them all cut out, as it were, to his hand; (*n*) his addreſs conſiſts in ranging them in ſuch order, that their concourſe and union (without leaving any vacuity, or producing any harſhneſs) may render the oration ſoft, flowing, and agreeable. And there are no expreſſions, however harſh they may appear in themſelves, but may contribute to the harmony of a diſcourſe, when judiciouſly diſpoſed (*o*) as in a building, in which the moſt irregular and rougheſt ſtones have their proper places. Iſocrates, properly ſpeaking, was the firſt among the Greeks who made them ſenſible to this beauty of harmony and cadence; and we ſhall ſoon ſee that Cicero did the ſame ſervice to the language of his country.

The

(*l*) Nihil intrare poteſt in affectum, quod in aure velut quodam veſtibulo ſtatim offendit. Ibid.

(*m*) Voluptate ad fidem ducitur. Quintil.

(*n*) Collocationis eſt componere et ſtruere verba ſic, ut neve aſper eorum concurſus, neve hiulcus ſit, ſed quodammodo coagmentatus et lævis——Hæc' eſt collocatio, quæ junctam orationem efficit, quæ cohærentem, quæ lævem, quæ æquabiliter fluentem. 3. de Orat. n. 171, 172.

(*o*) Sicut in ſtructurâ ſaxorum rudium, etiam ipſa enormitas invenit cui applicari, et in quo poſſit inſiſtere. Quintil. l. 9. c. 4.

The rules which Cicero and Quintilian have given us upon this topic as they obſerved the different feet to be employed in orations, may be of ſervice to young people, provided a judicious choice is made from theſe. The obſervations of Sylvius called *Progymnaſmata*, which are at the end of the collection of phraſes from Cicero, may likewiſe be of great uſe to them; but the beſt maſter they can ſtudy on this ſubject, is Cicero himſelf. He was the firſt who perceived that the Latin tongue wanted a beauty which the ancient Romans were abſolutely ignorant of, or neglected; and which, however was capable of raiſing it to a much greater perfection. As he was extremely jealous of the honour of his country, he undertook, by embelliſhing the Latin tongue with ſound, cadence, and harmony, to make, if poſſible, the language of his country equal to that of the Greeks, which has a very great advantage in this particular. It is ſurpriſing, how it was poſſible for him, in a few years, to carry the Latin, in this reſpect, to the higheſt perfection, which is not effected, generally ſpeaking, without long experience, and advances gradually by ſlow improvements. It is Cicero then that youth muſt ſet before them in this, as well as in every thing elſe. They will meet with rich thoughts and beautiful expreſſions in the hiſtorians; but they muſt not therefore ſearch for harmonious and periodical words in them. (*p*) The ſtile of hiſtory, which muſt be eaſy, natural and flowing, is not ſuitable to thoſe grave and harmonious numbers which the majeſty of an oratorial diſcourſe requires.

The eaſieſt and ſureſt way of making young people ſenſible of the beauty of ranging expreſſions, is to practiſe what Cicero himſelf did, in treating of this ſubject in his books *de oratore*; that is, to ſelect ſome of the moſt harmonious and periodical paſſages in the books which are explained to them; and to throw them out of the order and form in which they lye. There

(*p*) Hiſtoriæ, quæ currere debet ac ferri, minus conveniunt interſiſtentes clauſulæ. Quintil. lib. 9. cap. 4.

(*q*) There will ſtill be the ſame thoughts and expreſſions, but not the ſame grace, nor the ſame force; and the more thoſe paſſages ſhine in ſenſe and diction, the more grating will they be when thus diſplaced; becauſe the magnificence of the words will make this ſtill the more remarkable. The ears of young people being formed after this manner, by an aſſiduous reading of Cicero, and accuſtomed to the ſoft and harmonious cadence of his periods, will become delicate, and difficult to be pleaſed; and, as he ſays of himſelf, (*r*) their ear will diſcover perfectly well a full and harmonious period, and perceive alſo whether there is any defect or redundancy in it.

(*s*) Although there muſt be harmony in the whole body and texture of the period, and the harmony of which we are treating reſults from this union and concert of all the parts; 'tis allowed, however, that the effect is more evident in the cloſe. The ear being carried away in the other parts of the period, by the continuity of words, like a flood, is not capable of forming a proper idea of the ſounds, till the rapidity of utterance ceaſing a little gives it a kind of pauſe. And indeed, it is here, that the auditor's admiration, ſuſpended till then by the charms of the diſcourſe, breaks out on a ſudden in cries and acclamations.

(*t*) The beginning likewiſe requires particular care, becauſe the ear, from the particular attention natural to what is new, eaſily diſcovers its faults.

It

(*q*) Quod cuique viſum erit vehementer, dulciter, ſpecioſe dictum, ſolvat et turbet: aberit omnis vis, jucunditas, decor.——Illud notaſſe ſatis habeo, quo pulchriora et ſenſu et elocutione diſſolveris, hoc orationem magis deformem fore: quia negligentia collocationis ipſa verborum luce deprehenditur. Ibid.

(*r*) Meæ quidem (aures) et perfecto completoque verborum ambitu gaudent, et curta ſentiunt, nec amant redundantia. Orat. n. 168.

(*s*) In omni quidem corpore totoque, ut ita dixerim, tractu numeris inſerta eſt (compoſitio) Magis tamen deſideratur in clauſulis, et apparet. Aures continuam vocem ſecutæ, ductæque velut prono decurrentis orationis flumine, tum magis judicant, cum ille impetus ſtetit, et intuendi tempus dedit. Hæc eſt ſedes orationis: hoc auditor expectat: hîc laus omnis declamat. Quintil. l. 9 c. 4.

(*t*) Proximam clauſulis diligentiam poſtulant initia: nam et ad hæc intentus auditor eſt. Ibid.

It is therefore upon the beginning and end of the period, that the diſquiſition youth are to make ſhould principally turn; nor muſt we omit to make them attend to the ſurpriſing variety with which Cicero has interſperſed his numbers, in order to avoid the offenſive uniformity of the ſame cadences, which tire and diſguſt the auditors: I except, however, that trivial cloſe, *eſſe videatur*, which he was juſtly reproached to have affected, and with which he concludes a great number of his phraſes. We find it above ten times in his oration *pro lege Manilia*.

There is another diſpoſition or order of words more viſible and ſtudied, which may ſuit with pompous and ceremonious ſpeeches; ſuch as thoſe of the demonſtrative kind, (*u*) where the auditor, not being upon his guard againſt the ſurpriſes of art, is not afraid that ſnares are laid for his opinion; for then, ſo far from being diſguſted at thoſe harmonious and flowing cadences, he thinks himſelf obliged to the orator, for giving him, by their means, a grateful and innocent pleaſure. But it is otherwiſe when grave and ſerious matters are handled, whoſe only view is to affect and inſtruct. The cadence muſt then be alſo ſomething grave and ſerious; (*x*) and this charm of numbers prepared for the auditors, muſt be concealed, as it were, beneath the juſtneſs of the thoughts, and the beauty of the expreſſions, which may ſo ingroſs their attention, that they appear inattentive to the harmony and diſpoſition.

EXAMPLES.

Every part of Cicero will convince our eyes, or rather ears, of the truth of what is now aſſerted.

"Quod

(*u*) Cum is eſt auditor, qui non vereatur ne compoſitæ orationis inſidiis ſua fides attentetur, gratiam quoque habet oratori, voluptati aurium ſervienti. Orat. n. 208.

(*x*) Sic minime animadverteretur delectationis aucupium, et quadrandæ orationis induſtria, quæ latebit eo magis, ſi et verborum et ſententiarum ponderibus utemur. Nam qui audiunt, hæc duo animadvertunt, et jucunda ſibi cenſent, verba dico, et ſenten tias: eaque dum animis attentis admirantes excipiunt, fugit eos, et prætervolat numerus; qui tamen ſi abeſſet, illa ipſa delectarent. Ibid. n. 197.

(*x*) "Quod ſi è portu ſolventibus, ii, qui jam in portum "ex alto invehuntur, præcipere ſummo ſtudio ſolent et "tempeſtatum rationem, et prædonum, et locorum, "quod natura affert, ut eis faveamus, qui eadem peri- "cula, quibus nos perfuncti ſumus, ingrediuntur: quo "tandem me animo eſſe oportet, prope jam ex magna "jactatione terram videntem, in eum, cui video maximas "reipublicæ tempeſtates eſſe ſubeundas?" Nothing can be ſmoother than this period: but were we to throw ſome of the words out of the order in which they ſtand, it would diſguiſe the whole ſtrangely.

(*y*) "Omnes urbanæ res, omnia hæc noſtra præclara "ſtudia, et hæc forenſis laus et induſtria, latent in tutela "ac præſidio bellicæ virtutis. Simul atque increpuit ſuſ- "picio tumultûs, artes illico noſtræ conticeſcunt." This concluding cadence, which is a dichoreus, is extremely harmonious; and for that very reaſon, Cicero thinks it ſhould not be too often uſed in orations; becauſe affection becomes vicious even in the beſt things.

(*z*) "Animadverti judices, omnem accuſatoris orati- "onem in duas diviſam eſſe partes." According to the natural order, it ſhould be, *in duas partes diviſam eſſe.* But what a difference! *Rectum erat, ſed durum et incomptum,* ſays Quintilian, in his obſervation on this diſpoſition of the words.

(*a*) "Quam ſpem cogitationum et conſiliorum meo- "rum cum graves communium temporum, tum varii "noſtri caſus fefellerunt. Nam qui locus quietis et tran- "quillitatis pleniſſimus fore videbatur, in eo maximæ "moleſtiarum et turbulentiſſimæ tempeſtates extiterunt." Is there any thing in muſic ſweeter than theſe periods?

(*b*) "Hæc Centuripina navis erat incredibili celeri- "tate velis.... Evolarat jam è conſpectu fere fugiens "quadriremis, cum etiam tunc ceteræ naves in ſuo loco "moliebantur." Here every thing is rapid; the choice of words, as well as the diſpoſition of them; and the choice of the

(*x*) Pro Mur. n. 4. (*y*) Ibid. n. 22. (*z*) Pro Cluent. n. 1.
(*a*) Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 2. (*b*) In Verr. 7. n. 87.

the very letters, moſt of which are liquid and ſmooth, *Incredibili celeritate velis.* The cadence at the beginning, *evolarat jam, &c.* is as ſwift as the ſhip itſelf; whereas that at the end, which conſiſts wholly of one very long heavy word, repreſents in a wonderful manner the efforts of an ill equipped fleet, *Moliebantur.*

(*c*) "Reſpice celeritatem rapidiſſimi temporis: cogita "brevitatem hujus ſpatii, per quod citatiſſimi currimus." It is plain that Seneca endeavoured in this place to deſcribe the rapidity of time, by that of words and letters.

(*d*) "Servius agitat rem militarem: inſectatur totam "hanc legationem: aſſiduitatis, et operarum harum quo- "tidianarum putat eſſe conſulatum." One cannot doubt but Cicero purpoſely affected to employ three pretty long genitives plural, and the ſame termination in this place; (which would have a very ill effect in any other) the more to degrade the profeſſion which his adverſary undertook to magnify. He ſeems to have copied this paſſage from Terence. (*e*) "O faciem pulchram! "Deleo omnes dehinc ex animo mulieres. Tædet quo- "tidianarum harum formarum."

The ſame orator endeavoured to prove, that Milo did not leave Rome with an intention to attack Clodius; he he gives the following deſcription of his equipage: "Cum hic inſidiator, qui iter illud ad cædem faciendam "apparaſſet, cum uxore veheretur in rheda, penulatus, "vulgi magno impedimento, ac muliebri et delicato "ancillarum puerorumque comitatu." What man, who has ever ſo little ear, but is ſenſible, on the bare reading of this paſſage, that the orator affected to employ in this place, long words, conſiſting of many ſyllables; and that he crowded them one upon another, the better to expreſs the multitude of men and women attendants, who were more likely to incumber than be of ſervice in a combat?

A ſecond METHOD *of* ORDER *or* DISPOSITION.

The order I have hitherto been treating of has no other

(*c*) Epiſt. 99. (*d*) Pro. Mur. n. 21. (*e*) Eunuch. act. 2. ſc. 3.

other end, properly ſpeaking, but to pleaſe the ear, and to make the oration more harmonious. There is another kind, by which the orator is more intent upon giving ſtrength than grace and beauty to his diſcourſe. This conſiſts in diſpoſing certain expreſſions in ſuch a manner, that the oration may grow ſtill more vigorous as it goes on; and that the laſt may have always the moſt energy, and always add ſomething to thoſe which preceded them. Sometimes, certain words are rejected in the concluſion, which have a particular emphaſis, and give the greateſt ſtrength to a thought or deſcription; in order that being ſeparated, as it were, from the reſt, and ſet in a ſtronger light, they may ſtrike forcibly on the mind. This kind of order is as remarkable as the former, and deſerves the utmoſt attention of the maſter. I will give two or three examples of this kind extracted from Cicero, and add Quintilian's reflections, which alone would be ſufficient to form our taſte, and teach us to underſtand and explain authors.

1. (*f*) "Tu iſtis faucibus, iſtis lateribus, iſta gladiato-
"ria totius corporis firmitate, tantum vini in Hippiæ
"nuptiis exhauſeras, ut tibi neceſſe eſſet, in populi Ro-
"mani conſpectu vomere poſtridie." Quintilian weighs every word in this deſcription. "Quid fauces et latera,"
"ſays he, ad ebrietatem? Minime ſunt otioſa. Nam
"reſpicientes ad hæc poſſumus æſtimare quantum ille
"vini in Hippiæ nuptiis exhauſerit, quod ferre et co-
"quere non poſſet illa gladiatoria corporis firmitate."

We are ſenſible enough of the effect which is produced by this diſpoſition of the words, "faucibus, lateribus,
"gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate," which riſe to the end.

We ſhould not perhaps have taken ſo much noticeof the reaſon which induced Cicero to repeat the word *poſtridie*, in the end, if Quintilian had not made us attentive to it. (*g*) "Sæpe eſt vehemens aliquis ſenſus in verbo: quod
"ſi in media parte ſententiæ latet, tranſiri intentione, et
"obſcurari

(*f*) Philip. 2. n. 63. (*g*) Quint. l. 9. c. 4.

" obſcurari circumjacentibus ſolet, in clauſula poſitum " aſſignatur auditori et infingitur, quale eſt illud Cicero- " nis: *Ut tibi neceſſe eſſet in conſpectu populi Romani vo-* " *mere poſtridie.* Transfer hoc ultimum, minus valebit. " Nam totius ductûs hic eſt quaſi mucro, ut per ſe fœdæ " vomendi neceſſitati, jam nihil ultra expectantibus, " hanc quoque adjiceret deformitatem, ut cibus teneri " non poſſet *poſtridie.*"

But let us hear Cicero explain his own thought, and plainly point out to us the whole extent of it (*b*). " O " rem non modo viſu fœdam, ſed etiam auditu! Si hoc " tibi inter cœnam, in tuis immanibus illis poculis acci- " diſſet, quis non turpe duceret? In cœtu vero populi " Romani, negotium publicum gerens, magiſter equitum, " cui ructare turpe eſſet, is vomens fruſtis eſculentis, vi- " num redolentibus, gremium ſuum et totum tribunal " implevit." It is obvious, that the laſt expreſſions ſtill improve upon the preceding ones (*i*). " Singula incre- " mentum habent. Per ſe deforme, vel non in cœtu vo- " mere: in cœtu etiam non populi: populi etiam non " Romani: vel ſi nullum negotium ageret, vel ſi non pub- " licum, vel ſi non magiſter equitum. Sed alius divideret " hæc, et circa ſingulos gradus moraretur: hic in ſublime " etiam currit, et ad ſummum pervenit non nixu, ſed im- " petu." This is a beautiful model of explanation for maſters.

But how beautiful ſoever the Roman orator's deſcription of Anthony's vomiting may be, and whatever precaution he may take to advertiſe us firſt of the effect it muſt produce, " O rem non modo viſu fœdam, ſed eti- " am auditu;" I do not believe our language, which is ſo nice and delicate with regard to decency, could bear this detail of circumſtances, which diſguſts and ſhocks the imagination, and would never bear theſe words, *vomere, ructare, fruſtis eſculentis* (*k*). Here is an opportunity of making youth obſerve the difference in the genius of languages,

(*b*) Philip. 2. n. 63. (*i*) Quint. l. 8. c. 4.

(*k*) Perhaps the cuſtom of retching voluntarily after meals, (a practice very common in that age) made theſe expreſſions not ſo diſtaſteful.

languages, and the indiſputable advantage which ours has in this reſpect, over the Greek and Latin.

2. (*l*) "Stetit ſoleatus prætor populi Romani cum "pallio tunicaque talari muliercula nixus in littore." Theſe laſt words, *in littore*, placed in the cloſe, add a prodigious ſtrength to Cicero's thought, which I will explain in another place, where I endeavour to point out the beauty of this deſcription, and relate Quintilian's admirable expoſition of the paſſage.

3. (*m*) "Aderat janitor carceris, carnifex prætoris, "mors terrorque ſociorum et civium Romanorum, lictor "Sextius." Whoever ſhould put *lictor Sextius* in the beginning, would ſpoil all; the dreadful apparatus of this executioner muſt go before him. Whoever ſhould throw the members of this period into another order, would deſtroy all its beauty (*n*), which, according to the rules of rhetoric and good ſenſe, muſt grow more emphatic as it proceeds. Nevertheleſs, this rule here complies with the delicacy of the ear, which would have been offended, had the words been placed thus, *terror morſque ſociorum*, according to their natural order, *death* making a ſtronger impreſſion than *terror*.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

Of FIGURES.

FIGURES of rhetoric are certain turns and modes of expreſſion, which differ a little from the common and plain way of ſpeaking; and are uſed to give more grace and force to the diſcourſe. They conſiſt either in the words or the thoughts. I compriſe in the former what the rhetoricians call tropes, though there may be ſome difference in them.

It

(*l*) In Verrem, 7. n. 85. (*m*) Ibid. n. 157.

(*n*) Creſcere ſolet oratio verbis omnibus altius atque altius inſurgentibus. Quint. l. 8. c. 4.

It is of great importance to make youth obſerve, in reading good authors, the uſe which true eloquence makes of figures; the aſſiſtance it draws from them, not only to pleaſe, but to perſuade and move the affections; and that without them, expreſſion is weak, and falls into a kind of monotony, and is almoſt like a body without a ſoul. Quintilian gives us a juſt idea of them by a very natural compariſon (*o*). A ſtatue, ſays he, quite uniform and of a piece from top to bottom, with the head ſtrait upon the ſhoulders, the arms hanging down, and the feet joined together, would have no gracefulneſs, and would ſeem to be without motion, and lifeleſs. It is the different attitudes of the feet, the hands, the countenance and head, which being varied an infinite number of ways, according to the diverſity of ſubjects, communicate a ſort of action and motion to the works of art, and give them, as it were, life and ſoul.

Figures *of* Words.

(*p*) The metaphor is a figure which ſubſtitutes the figurative terms it borrows from other ſubjects, as it were by a kind of exchange, in the room of proper words which are either wanting, or have not energy enough. Thus, *gemma* was called the bud of the vine, there being no proper word to expreſs it: *incenſus ira, inflammatus furore*, were uſed inſtead of *iratus, furens*, in order to paint the effect of thoſe paſſions the better.

We

(*o*) Recti corporis vel minima gratia eſt. Neque enim adverſa ſit facies, et demiſſa brachia, et juncti pedes, et à ſummis ad ima rigens opus. Flexus ille, et ut ſic dixerim motus, dat actum quendam effictis. Ideo nec ad unum modum formatæ manus, et in vultu mille ſpecies. . . . Quam quidem gratiam et delectationem afferunt figuræ, quæque in ſenſibus, quæque in verbis ſunt. Quintil. l. 2. c. 14.

(*p*) Tertius ille modus transferendi verbi late patet, quem neceſſitas genuit inopiâ coacta primò et anguſtiis, poſt autem delectatio jucunditaſque celebravit. Nam ut veſtis frigoris depellendi cauſa reperta primo, poſt adhiberi cœpta eſt ad ornatum etiam corporis et dignitatem: ſic verbi tranſlatio inſtituta eſt inopiæ cauſa, frequentata delectationis. . . . Ergo hæ tranſlationes quaſi mutationes ſunt, cum, quod non habeas, aliunde ſumas. Illæ paulo audaciores, quæ non inopiam indicant, ſed orationi ſplendoris aliquid accerſunt. 3. de Orat. n. 155. 156.

We ſee by this, that what was at firſt invented through neceſſity, from the defect or want of proper words, has ſince contributed towards embelliſhing ſpeech; much after the ſame manner that clothes were at firſt employed to cover the body, and defend it againſt the cold, and ſerved afterwards to adorn it (*q*). Every metaphor therefore muſt either find a void in the place it is to fill up, or, at leaſt, (in caſe it baniſhes a proper word) muſt have more force than the word to which it is ſubſtituted.

This is one of the figures that gives moſt ornament, ſtrength, and grandeur to diſcourſe; and the reader may have obſerved in the ſeveral paſſages I have cited, that the moſt exquiſite expreſſions are generally metaphorical, and derive all their merit from that figure (*r*). Indeed, it has the peculiar advantage, according to Quintilian's obſervation, to ſhine from its own light in the moſt celebrated pieces, and to diſtinguiſh itſelf moſt in them: it enriches a language, in ſome meaſure, by an infinity of expreſſions, by ſubſtituting the figurative in the room of the ſimple or plain; it throws a great variety into the ſtile; it raiſes and aggrandizes the moſt minute and common things; (*s*) it gives us great pleaſure by the ingenious boldneſs, with which it ſtrikes out in queſt of foreign expreſſions, inſtead of the natural ones which are at hand; it deceives the mind agreeably, by ſhewing it one thing, and meaning another. In fine, it gives a body, if we may ſo ſay, to the moſt ſpirited things, and makes

(*q*) Metaphora aut vacantem occupare locum debet; aut, ſi in alienum venit, plus valere eo quod expellit. Quint. l. 8. c. 6.

(*r*) Ita jucunda atque nitida, ut in oratione quamlibet clara, proprio tamen lumine eluceat. Quint. l. 8. c. 6.

(*s*) In ſuorum verborum maxima copia, tamen homines aliena multo magis, ſi ſunt ratione tranſlata, delectant. Id accidere credo, vel quòd ingenii ſpecimen eſt quoddam, tranſilire ante pedes poſita, et alia longe repetita ſumere: vel quòd is, qui audit, aliò ducitur cogitatione, neque tamen aberrat, quæ maxima eſt delectatio . . . vel quòd omnis tranſlatio, quæ quidem ſumpta ratione eſt, ad ſenſus ipſos admovetur, maxime oculorum, qui eſt ſenſus acerſimus. Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 159, 160.

makes them almoſt the objects of hearing and ſight by the ſenſible images it delineates to the imagination.

In order to give an idea of the force of metaphors, great care muſt be taken to begin always with explaining the plain and natural ſenſe, upon which the figurative is founded, and without which the latter could not be well underſtood.

The ſureſt and likewiſe the eaſieſt way to repreſent the beauty of the metaphor, and, in general, to explain the beautiful paſſages in authors, with juſtneſs, is to ſubſtitute natural expreſſions inſtead of the figurative, and to diveſt a very bright phraſe of all its ornaments, by reducing it to a ſimple propoſition. This was Cicero's method; and what better method can we follow? He explains the force and energy of a metaphorical expreſſion in theſe verſes of an ancient poet;

Vive, Ulyſſes, dum licet:
Oculis poſtremum lumen radiatum rape.

He performs it thus: "Non dixit *cape*, non *pete*; ha-
"beret enim moram ſperantis diutius eſſe ſeſe victurum:
"ſed *rape*. Hoc verbum eſt ad id aptatum, quod ante
"dixerat, dum licet." Horace uſes the ſame thought.

(*u*) Dona præſentis cape lætus horæ.

An able interpreter aſſerts, that we muſt read *rape* inſtead of *cape*. I doubt whether he be in the right; for the man pourtrayed by Horace, is one who is free from all care and uneaſineſs; and by flattering himſelf with the hopes of a long life, enjoys peaceably the pleaſures which each day offers; and the word *cape* agrees very well with ſuch a condition; whereas, in the ancient poet, Ulyſſes is exhorted to lay hold of the preſent moments, leſt they ſhould eſcape him, and he be deprived of them by a ſudden and unexpected death: *Poſtremum*

(*t*) Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 162. (*u*) Ode 8. l. 3.

Poſtremum lumen radiatum rapæ. Cicero employed a word like this full as gracefully: (*u*) "Quo quiſque eſt "ſolertior et ingenioſior, hôc docet iracundius et laborio- "ſius. Quod enim ipſe celeriter arripuit: id cum tarde "percipi videt, diſcruciatur." It is enough to obſerve, that he does not ſay, *facile didicit*, but *celeriter arripuit*; the difference is very obvious.

When the metaphor is continued, and does not conſiſt in one word, it is called an *allegory*. "Equidem cæ- "teras tempeſtates et procellas in illis duntaxat fluctibus "concionum ſemper Miloni putavi eſſe ſubeundas." He might have ſaid plainly, "Equidem multa pericula in po- "puli concionibus ſemper Miloni putavi eſſe ſubeunda."

(*x*) "Remember the beginning and progreſs of the "war, which, though but a ſpark in the beginning, now "ſets all Europe in a flame.

"Thoſe clouds which ariſe from diſlike or ſuſpicion, "never appeared in his ſerene countenance.

"His virtues made him known to the public, and "produced that firſt flower of reputation which ſpreads "an odour (*y*) more agreeable than perfumes, over eve- "ry other part of a glorious life."

(*z*) When we uſe this figure, we muſt always obſerve to continue the ſimile, and not ſally abruptly from one image to another; nor, for example, conclude with a conflagration, after we began with a ſtorm. Horace is charged with that error in this line,

Et malè tornatos incudi reddere verſus;

where he joins two ideas widely different, the turning wheel and the anvil. But ſome interpreters excuſe him. I know not whether Cicero may not be charged

(*u*) Pro Quint. Roſc. n. 31. (*x*) M. Flechier.

(*y*) Melius eſt nomen bonum, quam unguenta pretioſa. Eccl. vii. 2.

(*z*) Id imprimis eſt cuſtodiendum, ut quo ex genere cœperis tranſlationis, hoc deſinas. Multi enim, cum initium à tempeſtate ſumpſerunt, incendio aut ruina finiunt: quæ eſt inconſequentia rerum fœdiſſima. Quint. l. 8. c. 6.

charged with the ſame fault in this paſſage of the ſecond book. (*y*) " Ut cum in ſole ambulem, etiamſi ob " aliam cauſam ambulem, fieri tamen natura ut colorer: " ſic, cum iſtos libros ad Miſenum ſtudioſius legerem, " ſentio orationem meam illorum quaſi cantu colorari." How can we reconcile theſe two words, *cantu* and *colorari?* and what relation can there be between *cantus* and a piece of writing?

The *periphraſis* or *circumlocution.* This figure is ſometimes abſolutely neceſſary, as when we ſpeak of things which decency will not allow us to expreſs in their own name; (*z*) *ad requiſita naturæ.* It is often uſed for ornament only, which is very common with poets; and ſometimes to expreſs a thing the more magnificently, which would otherwiſe appear very low and mean: or to cover or ſoften the harſhneſs of ſome propoſitions which would be ſhocking, if ſhewn in a naked and ſimple dreſs.

1. *Of* Ornament.

(*a*) " The king, in order to give an immortal teſti- " mony of his eſteem and friendſhip for that great ge- " neral (M. de Turenne) gives an illuſtrious place to his " renowned aſhes, among thoſe lords of the earth, who " ſtill preſerve, in the magnificence of their tombs, an " image of that of their thrones; *inſtead of ſaying ſimply,* " gives his aſhes a place in the tombs of the kings."

(*b*) C'eſt-là ce qui l'emporte aux lieux où naît l'aurore;
Où le Perſe eſt brûlé de l'aſtre qu'il adore.

Engliſhed.

" 'Tis this tranſports him to far diſtant climes,
" Where gay Aurora riſes, where the Perſian
" Is ſcorch'd by the bright planet he adores."

(*y*) Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 60.
(*z*) Salluſt.
(*a*) Maſcaron.
(*b*) Deſpr.

2. *To* HEIGHTEN *low and common* THOUGHTS.

(*c*) "The eagle had already winged to the mountains "to ſave herſelf, whoſe bold and rapid flight had at firſt "terrified our provinces;" *that is, the German army.* "Thoſe brazen thunderbolts, which hell invented for "the deſtruction of men, thundered on all ſides; *that "is, the cannon.*"

3. *To* SOFTEN *harſh* EXPRESSIONS.

Cicero, finding himſelf obliged, in his defence of Milo, to acknowledge that his ſlaves had killed Clodius, does not ſay, "interfecerunt, jugularunt Clodium;" but, by making uſe of a circumlocution, he conceals the horror of this murder under an idea which could not offend the judges, but ſeemed rather to engage them: (*d*) "Fecerunt id ſervi Milonis (dicam enim non deri- "vandi criminis cauſa, ſed ut factum eſt) neque impe- "rante, neque ſciente, neque præſente domino, quod "ſuos quiſque ſervos in tali re facere voluiſſet."

When Vibius Virius exhorted the ſenators of Capua to poiſon themſelves, to prevent their falling alive into the hands of the Romans, he deſcribes, by an elegant periphraſis, the misfortunes from which this draught would deliver them; and by this figure conceals from them the horror of death, inſtead of ſaying, the poiſon would procure them a ſudden one. (*e*) "Satiatus vino ci- "boque poculum idem quod mihi datum fuerit, circum- "feretur. Ea potio corpus ab cruciatu, animum à con- "tumeliis, oculos, aures, à videndis audiendiſque omni- "bus acerbis indigniſque quæ manent victos, vindi- "cabit."

Though Manlius knew very well how odious the bare name of a king was to the Romans, and how likely to ſpirit them up to rebellion, he endeavoured nevertheleſs to prevail with them to give him that title. He did it very dexterouſly, by contenting himſelf with the title

(*c*) Flechier.
(*d*) Pro Mil. n. 29.
(*e*) Liv. lib. 26. n. 13.

title of protector; but inſinuating, at the ſame time, that that of king, which he was very careful not to name, would enable him to do them greater ſervice. (*f*) "Ego me patronum profiteor plebis, quod mihi cura "mea et fides nomen induit. Vos, ſi quo inſigni magis "imperii honoriſve nomine veſtrum appellabitis ducem, "eo utemini potentiore ad obtinenda ea quæ vultis."

Some have juſtly taken notice of (*g*) certain turns, which the ancients employed to ſoften harſh and ſhocking propoſitions. When Themiſtocles ſaw Xerxes approaching with a formidable army, he adviſed the Athenians to quit their city; but he did it in the ſofteſt terms, and exhorted them to commit it to the care of the gods. "Ut urbem apud deos deponerent; quia durum erat "dicere, ut relinquerent." Another was of opinion, they ſhould melt down the golden ſtatues raiſed to *Victory*, to anſwer the exigencies of war. He uſed a turn of expreſſion, and told them it was neceſſary to make uſe of victories. "Et qui victorias aureas in "uſum belli conflari volebat, ita declinavit, victoriis "utendum eſſe."

Repetition is a pretty common figure, which has different names, becauſe there are various kinds of it. It is very proper to expreſs lively and violent paſſions, ſuch as anger and grief for example, which are ſtrongly employed on the ſame object, and ſee no other; and therefore often repeat the terms which repreſent it. Thus Virgil paints Orpheus's grief after the death of Eurydice.

(*h*) TE dulcis conjux: TE ſolo in littore ſecum
TE veniente die, TE decedente canebat.

(*i*) Pliny the younger uſes the ſame figure in bewailing the death of Virginius, who had been his tutor,

(*f*) Liv. lib. 6. n. 18.
(*g*) Celebrata apud Græcos ſchemata, per quæ res aſperas mollius ſignificant. Quint. l. 9. c. 2.
(*h*) Lib. 4. Geor. ver. 465.
(*i*) Lib. 2. ep. 1.

and whom he conſidered as his father. " Volui tibi " multa alia ſcribere, ſed totus animus in hac una con- " templatione defixus eſt. Virginium cogito, Virgini- " um video, Virginium jam vanis imaginibus, recenti- " bus tamen, audio, alloquor, teneo."

(*k*) Cicero furniſhes us with a prodigious number of examples. " Bona, miſerum me! (conſumptis enim la- " crymis tamen infixus animo hæret dolor) bona inquam, " Cn. Pompeii acerbiſſimæ voci ſubjecta præconis."— " (*l*) Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, ſed ad confir- " nandam audaciam."—(*m*) " Cædebatur virgis in medio " foro Meſſanæ civis Romanus, judices."—" Cum ille " imploraret ſæpius uſurparetque nomen civitatis, crux, " crux, inquam, infelici et ærumnoſo, qui nunquam " iſtam poteſtatem viderat, comparabatur."

This figure is likewiſe vaſtly proper for inſiſting ſtrongly on any proof, or any truth. (*n*) The elder Pliny would make us ſenſible of the folly of men, who give themſelves ſo much trouble to ſecure an eſtabliſhment in this world; and often take arms againſt one another, to extend a little the boundaries of their dominions. After repreſenting the whole earth as a ſmall point, and almoſt indiviſible in compariſon of the univerſe; It is here, ſays he, we are endeavouring to eſtabliſh and enrich ourſelves; it is here we would govern and be ſovereigns; it is this that agitates mankind with frequent violence: This is the object of our ambition, the ſubject of our diſputes, the cauſe of ſo many bloody wars, even among fellow-citizens and brothers. " Hæc eſt mate- " ria gloriæ noſtræ, hæc ſedes: hic honores gerimus, " hic exercemus imperia, hic opes cupimus, hic tumul- " tuatur humanum genus: hic inſtauramus bella etiam " civilia, mutuiſque cædibus laxiorem facimus terram." All the vivacity of this paſſage conſiſts in the repetition, which ſeems in every member or part to exhibit this little ſpot of earth, for which men torment themſelves ſo

(*k*) 2. Philip. n. 64.
(*l*) 1. Catil. n. 1.
(*m*) 7. Ver. n. 161.
(*n*) Lib. 2. c. 58.

ſo far as to fight and kill one another, in order to get ſome little portion of it; and, at laſt, what ſhare have they of it after death? "Quota terrarum parte gaudeat? "vel, cum ad menſuram ſuæ avaritiæ propagaverit, "quam tandem portionem ejus defunctus obtineat!"

[o] Rompez, rompez tout pacte avec l'impieté —
Daigne, daigne, mon Dieu, ſur Mathan et ſur elle
Repandre cet eſprit d'imprudence et d'erreur,
De la chûte des rois funeſte avant-coureur——
Dieu des Juifs, tu l'emportes!——
David, David triomphe. Achab ſeul eſt detruit—

Engliſhed.

"Your leagues with impious men diſſolve, diſſolve—
"Deign, deign, my God, on Mathan, and on her
"To ſhed the ſpirit of imprudent error,
"Fatal forerunner of the fall of Kings——
"God of the Jews, 'tis thou who doſt prevail!
"Great David triumphs. Ahab only dies——"

[q] L'argent, l'argent, dit-on: ſans lui tout eſt ſtérile.
La vertu ſans l'argent n'eſt qu'un meuble inutile.
L'argent en honnête homme érige un ſcelerat.
L'argent ſeul au palais peut faire un magiſtrat.

"'Tis money, money: this alone is merit.
"Without it, virtue is an uſeleſs toy.
"Money proclaims the knave a man of honour.
"Money, alone, can make a dunce a judge."

[q] Quel carnage de toutes parts!
On égorge à la fois les enfans, les vieillards;
Et la ſœur, et le frere;
Et la fille, et la mere;
Le fils dans les bras de ſon pere.

Engliſhed,

[o] Racine. [p] Deſpreaux. [q] Racine.

Engliſhed.

What ſlaughter's all around us!
The murd'ring ſword kills ancient men and children,
The ſiſter and the brother,
The daughter and the mother;
The ſon too, claſp'd in his fond father's arms.

To take away the repetition from all theſe paſſages, is in reality to diveſt them of all their beauty, to weaken all their ſtrength, and deprive the paſſions of the language natural to them.

The ANTITHESIS, DISTRIBUTION, *and ſuch like Figures.*

Antitheſes, when artfully employed, ſays father Bouhours, are extremely pleaſing in works of genius. They have pretty near the ſame effect in theſe, that lights and ſhadows have in painting, when the painter has the art of diſtributing them judiciouſly; or that the trebles and baſſes have in muſic, which an able maſter knows how to blend together. [*r*] "Vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia, rationem amentia." [*s*] "Odit "populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit."— [*t*] Chriſtian Generals muſt be "tender and charitable even when their hands are "bloody; and inwardly adore the Creator, when they "find themſelves reduced to the melancholy neceſſity "of deſtroying his creatures."

There are other figures which conſiſt chiefly in a certain diſpoſition and relation between words, which being diſpoſed with art, propriety, and ſymmetry, as it were, in a particular order, correſpond with one another; and ſooth the ear and mind agreeably, by this kind of regular and ſtudied harmony.

[*u*] Cicero did not neglect that ornament of ſpeech, which ſome of the ancients, as Iſocrates, were vaſtly fond of; and he has ſhewed the uſe we ought to make

[*r*] Pro Cluent. n. 15 [*s*] Pro Mur. n. 76. [*t*] Flechier.

[*u*] Delectatus eſt his etiam M. Tullius; verum et modum adhibuit non ingratæ, niſi copia redundet, voluptati; et rem alioqui levem, ſententiarum pondere implevit. Quint. l. 9. c. 1.

make of theſe figures, by employing them ſeldom and with moderation; and being always careful to heighten them, by the force and juſtneſs of the thoughts, without which they would have very little merit.

(*u*) "Eſt enim hæc, judices, non ſcripta, ſed nata lex; "quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex "natura ipſa arripuimus, hauſimus, expreſſimus; ad "quam non docti ſed facti, non inſtituti ſed imbuti ſumus: "ut, ſi vita noſtra in aliquas inſidias, ſi in vim, ſi in tela "aut latronum aut inimicorum incidiſſet, omnis honeſta "ratio eſſet expediendæ ſalutis.——(*x*) Et ſine invidia "culpa plectatur, et ſine culpa invidia ponatur.

(*y*) Seneca is full of theſe figures: "Magnus eſt ille "qui fictilibus ſic utitur, quemadmodum argento: nec "ille minor eſt, qui ſic argento utitur quemadmodum fictilibus. Infirmi animi eſt, pati non poſſe divitias.—— "(*z*) Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes adminiſtras, tam "abſtinenter quam alienas, tam diligenter quam tuas, "tam religioſe quam publicas. In officio amorem con"ſequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile eſt."

(*a*) A man great in adverſity by his courage, and in good fortune by his modeſty, in difficulties by his prudence, in danger by his valour, and in religion by his piety.

He only changed virtues, when fortune changed her countenance; happy without pride, unhappy with dignity.

In his youth he had all the prudence of advanced age, and in advanced age all the vigour of youth.

(*b*) We eaſily imagine to ourſelves the ardour and perſeverance with which a man of genius applies himſelf to any ſtudy which is his chief pleaſure; and a man of virtue who makes it an eſſential duty.

He poſſeſt that innocence and ſimplicity of manners, which we generally preſerve when we converſe leſs with men than with books; and he had nothing of that ſeverity

(*u*) Pro Mil. n. 10. (*x*) Pro Cluent. n. 5. (*y*) Senec. Ep. 5.
(*z*) De brev. vitæ, c. 18. (*a*) Elechier. (*b*) Fonten.

rity or ſavage pride with which the commerce of books, without that of men, is too apt to inſpire.

(*c*) One alone is ſmitten, and all are delivered. God ſmites his innocent Son for the ſake of guilty men; and pardons guilty men for the ſake of his innocent Son.

All theſe thoughts are very juſt and beautiful in themſelves; but it muſt be owned, that the turn and manner in which they are expreſſed make them much more graceful. In order to make us more ſenſible of this, we need only reduce them to a plain and vulgar way of ſpeaking. This I will endeavour to diſplay in the two beautiful paſſages of Cicero, where the diſpoſition of words, of which we are ſpeaking, appears in a peculiar manner.

When that great orator, pleading for Ligarius, had told Cæſar, that princes reſemble the gods in nothing more, than in doing good to men; he might have barely ſaid, that his fortune and kind diſpoſition procured him that glorious advantage: this is the foundation of the thought. But Cicero expreſſes it in a much more noble and elegant manner, by obſerving ſeparately, by a kind of diſtribution, what he owes to fortune, and what ſhould be aſcribed to his natural inclination. The one gives him the power of doing good, the other the will; and it is in this, that the greatneſs of his fortune, and the excellency of his good nature, conſiſt. (*d*) "Nihil ha-
"bet nec fortuna tua majus quam ut poſſis, nec natura
"tua melius quam ut velis conſervare quam plurimos." All the words here correſpond with a ſurpriſing exactneſs. *Fortuna, natura: majus, melius: poſſis, velis.* Is it poſſible to ſay more in fewer words, or with more beauty?

The elogium of Roſcius the comedian is in the ſame taſte. (*e*) "Etenim cum artifex ejuſmodi ſit (*Q. Roſci-*
"*us*) ut ſolus dignus videatur eſſe qui ſcenam introeat:
"tum vir ejuſmodi eſt, ut ſolus videatur dignus, qui
"eò non accedat. Cicero makes a noble encomium
"upon

(*c*) Boſſuet. (*d*) Pro Lig. n. 38. (*e*) Pro Quint. Roſc. n. 18.

upon the ſame Roſcius, in another place, which may likewiſe teach us how the ſame thought may be turned different ways. *(f)* "Qui medius fidius (audacter dico) "plus fidei quam artis, plus veritatis quam diſciplinæ "poſſidet in ſe: quem populus Romanus meliorem virum "quàm hiſtrionem eſſe arbitratur: qui ita digniſſimus eſt "ſcena propter artificium, ut digniſſimus ſit curia prop-"ter abſtinentiam." This double encomium is reduced to this, that Roſcius has more of the honeſt man than the excellent comedian. In how many ſhapes is this thought repreſented to us? Can we imagine any thing has more delicacy than the firſt turn which Cicero gives it? "Roſcius is ſo excellent an actor, that he alone "ſeems worthy of mounting the ſtage; but, on the "other hand, he is a man of ſo much virtue, that he "alone ſeems worthy of never appearing upon it." The ſecond encomium is as delicate as the former. The laſt member would perhaps have been more graceful, if a word that ends like *abſtinentiam*, had been ſubſtituted inſtead of *artificium*. For one of the principal beauties of the figures we are here treating of, and which conſiſt in a ſtudied and meaſured order, is, that the words ſhould not only anſwer one another in ſenſe, but likewiſe in ſound and cadence. "Ita digniſſimus eſt ſcena prop-"ter artis peritiam, ut digniſſimus ſit curia propter ab-"ſtinentiam." But Cicero choſe to renounce that minute elegance, rather than enervate the beauty of the ſenſe, by an expreſſion not ſo proper; and he gives us an opportunity of adding in this place ſome reflections of Quintilian, on the uſe that is to be made of ſuch figures.

(g) Since they conſiſt wholly in certain turns, and a certain diſpoſition of words, and that theſe muſt be employed only to expreſs the thoughts, it would be mani-

(f) Pro Quint. Roſc. com. n. 17.

(g) Sunt qui neglecto rerum pondere et viribus ſententiarum, ſi vel inania verba in hos modos depravarint, ſummos ſe judicent artifices, ideoque non deſinunt eas nectere: quas ſine ſententia ſectari tam eſt ridiculum, quàm quærere habitum geſtumque ſine corpore. Quint. l. 9. c. 3.

Sed ne hæ quidem denſandæ ſunt nimis. Ibid.

feſtly abſurd to apply ourſelves entirely to thoſe turns and to that diſpoſition of words, and at the ſame time neglect the very foundation both of thoughts and of things. But how juſt ſoever we may ſuppoſe theſe figures to be, they muſt however be uſed ſparingly; for the more artful and ſtudied they appear, the more evident is the affectation, and conſequently the more faulty. (*b*) To conclude, the nature of the things we treat of muſt be ſuſceptible of this kind of ornaments. For when it is propoſed, for inſtance, to affect and melt the auditors, to terrify them by a view of the evils which threaten them, to raiſe a juſt indignation in them againſt vice, to employ earneſt entreaties; would not an orator be ridiculous, ſhould he attempt to effect this by regular periods, anitheſes, and ſuch like figures, which are proper only to diſtinguiſh the paſſions, and to expoſe the vanity of an orator, ſolely intent upon himſelf, and the care of diſplaying his wit, at a time when he ſhould have no thoughts but to draw tears from his auditors, and fill them with the ſentiments of fear, anger or grief, neceſſary to his purpoſe?

Figures *of* Allusion.

I muſt not conclude this article, which relates to the figures of words, without ſaying ſomething of thoſe that conſiſt in an affected reſemblance, and a kind of a play of words. "Amari jucundum eſt, ſi curetur ne quid inſit "amari. Avium dulcedo ad avium ducit. Ex oratore "orator factus." (*i*) The bare name of Verres, which in Latin ſignifies a boar, gave riſe to a great many alluſions. "Hinc illi homines erant, qui etiam ridiculi in- "veniebantur ex dolore: quorum alii, ut audiſtis, nega- "bant mirandum eſſe, *jus tam nequam eſſe Verrinum*: alii "etiam frigidiores erant, ſed quia ſtomachabantur, ridi- "culi

(*b*) Sciendum imprimis quid quiſque in orando poſtulet locus: quid perſona, quid tempus——Ubi enim atrocitate, invidia, miſeratione pugnandum eſt, quis ferat contra-poſitis, et pariter cadentibus, et conſimilibus, iraſcentem, flentem, rogantem: cum in his rebus cura verborum deroget affectibus fidem, et ubicumque ars oſtentatur, veritas abeſſe videtur. Ibid.

(*i*) Ver. 3. n. 2.

" culi videbantur esse, cum *sacerdotem* execrabantur, qui " *Verrem tam nequam* reliquisset: (the Prætor of Sicily " whom Verres succeeded, was called *Sacerdos.*) Quæ " ego non commemorarem (neque enim perfacete dicta, " neque porro hac severitate digna sunt) nisi, &c. (*k*) Ex " nomine istius quid in provincia facturus esset perri- " diculi homines augurabantur . . . . ad *everrendam* pro- " vinciam venerat. (*l*) Quod unquam, judices, hujus- " modi *everriculum* ulla in provincia fuit?" And at the same time that Cicero mentions these puns, he informs us how flat and puerile he found them; by which he teaches youth what judgment they are to form of them, and warns against a vicious taste, which young people are but too apt to give into, who imagine that there is some wit in this kind of figures.

But we must not however condemn allusions in general, some being really ingenious, and give a grace to a discourse; and they must appear such, when they are judicious, and founded on a solid thought, and a natural resemblance. Cicero had related the equitable and disinterested conduct of Verres in a certain affair; and adds the following reflection: (*m*) " Est adhuc, id quod vos " omnes admirari video, non Verres, sed Q. Mucius. " Quid enim facere potuit elegantius ad hominum existi- " mationem? æquius ad levandam mulieris calamitatem? " vehementius ad quæstoris libidinem coercendam? Sum- " me hæc omnia mihi videntur esse laudanda. Sed re- " pente è vestigio *ex homine*, tanquam aliquo Circæo " poculo, *factus est Verres*. Redit ad se, ad mores suos. " Nam ex illa pecunia magnam partem ad se vertit: " mulieri reddit quantulum visum est." Methinks this allusion, which is founded on what fiction relates of Circe, who, by certain draughts, changed men into boars or swine, (which Verres signifies in Latin) is happily and very naturally used in this place.

(*n*) It appeared by Cicero's examination of the journals

(*k*) Verr. 4. n. 18. et 19.
(*l*) Verr. 6. n. 53.
(*m*) Verr. 1. n. 57.
(*n*) Verr. 4. n. 186, &c.

nals of a certain trader in Sicily, that the laſt five letters of this word *Verrutius*, which were frequently mentioned in thoſe journals, were always obliterated, and that the four firſt only remained, *Verr.* This was a fictitious name under which Verres concealed himſelf, to carry on an abominable uſury. Cicero produced thoſe journals on the trial; [*o*] " ut omnes mortales," ſays he, " iſtius avaritiæ non jam veſtigia, ſed ipſa cubilia " videre poſſint. [*p*] Videtis Verrutium? videtis primas literas integras? videtis extremam partem nomi- " n's, caudam illam Verris, tanquam in luto, dimerſam " eſſe in litura?" Can any one condemn ſuch a play of words, eſpecially on an occaſion where the orator thought it was neceſſary to divert the judges, and at the ſame time intended to make Verres ridiculous and contemptible?

Sometimes the reſemblance between words, or the bare changing a preposition, or the ſame word uſed in various ſignifications, produces a kind of beauty not to be deſpiſed. [*q*] " Hanc reipublicæ peſtem pauliſper repri- " mi, non in perpetuum compriuni poſſe . . . [*r*] non " emiſſus ex urbe, ſed immiſſus in urbem eſſe videatur. . . . . [*s*] Civis bonarum artium, bonarum partium." One of the ancients ſaid of a ſlave that pilfered in the houſe, that every thing was open to him: [*t*] " Solum " eſſe cui domi nihil ſit nec obſignatum, nec occluſum:" which might likewiſe be ſaid of a faithful ſervant in whom we repoſe an entire confidence.

Figures *with regard to* Thoughts.

I ſhall only mention ſome of the moſt remarkable among theſe.

The interrogation, apoſtrophe, and exclamation, are very common figures, and yet may render diſcourſe more efficacious, lively, and affecting.

[*u*] *Uſque ade one mori miſerum eſt?* With this tone of voice a man ſpeaks, who is going to battle; whereas an

[*o*] Verr. 4. n. 190.
[*p*] N. 191.
[*q*] 1. Catil. n. 30.
[*r*] N. 7.
[*s*] Pro Cœl. n. 77.
[*t*] 2. de Orat. n. 248.
[*u*] Æn. l. 12. v. 646.

an old man who is ſick and near death, would ſay coldly: "Non eſt uſque adeo miſerum mori."

Æneas ſays, that if a certain event had been regarded, Troy would not have been taken.

"(*u*) Trojaque nunc ſtares, Priamique arx alta maneres."

This apoſtrophe makes us feel the great love a good citizen bears to his country. Change a letter, *ſtaret*, *maneret*, and the ſentiment is gone.

Thus Cicero concludes the narrative he made of the puniſhment of a Roman citizen: (*x*) "O nomen dulce "libertatis! O jus eximium noſtræ civitatis! O lex Por-"cia, legeſque Semproniæ! O graviter deſiderata, et a-"liquando reddita plebi Romanæ, tribunitia poteſtas! "Huccine tandem omnia reciderunt, ut civis R. in pro-"vincia populi R. in oppido fœderatorum, ab eo qui be-"neficio populi R. faſces et ſecures haberet, deligatus in "foro virgis cæderetur?" Theſe are the juſt expreſſions of grief and indignation.

Cicero joins and unites the greateſt part of theſe figures, and adds others to them in a very lively paſſage. "(*y*) Quid enim, Tubero, tuus ille diſtrictus in acie "Pharſalica gladius agebat? cujus latus ille mucro pe-"tebat? qui ſenſus erat armorum tuorum? quæ tua "mens? oculi? manus? ardor animi? quid cupiebas? "quid optabas?" All this is only to declare, that Tubero was preſent at the battle of Pharſalia, and had fought againſt Cæſar. But what ſtrength does this thought receive from ſo many and ſuch lively figures, crowded one upon the other? Do not they ſeem to inſinuate that Tubero's ſword fought every where for Cæſar? For Cicero had ſaid immediately before: "Contra ipſum Cæſarem eſt congreſſus armatus."

"(*z*) O Princes! whoſe deſtiny is ſo great and glo-"rious, muſt you be born in the dominions of thoſe "who are the enemies of your houſe? O eternal God, "watch over her! Holy angels, draw your inviſible "ſqua-

(*u*) Æn. l. 2. v. 56.
(*x*) Ver. 7. n. 161. & 162.
(*y*) Pro Ligar. n. 9.
(*z*) Boſſuet.

" ſquadrons round her, and guard the cradle of ſo great,
" ſo hapleſs a Princeſs!

" (*a*) Ye gloomy retreats, where ſhame obliges poverty to ſhrowd herſelf, how often has ſhe made her conſolation and her charity flow even to you; ſhe, who was ſo ſtrongly affected with your wants and afflictions, and more induſtrious to conceal her beneficence, than you were to hide your miſery!"

(*b*) O fortuné ſejour! O champs aimés des Cieux!
Que pour jamais foulant vos prés delicieux,
Ne puis-je ici fixer ma courſe vagabonde,
Et, connu de vos ſeul, oublier tout la monde.

Engliſhed.

" O charming ſpot! O fields belov'd by heav'n!
" Why cannot I here fix my roving ſteps,
" Wander for ever in your winding ſhades,
" And known to you alone, forget the world?"

(*c*) O rives du Jordain! O champs aimés des Cieux!
Sacrés monts, fertiles valées
Par cents miracles ſignalées!
Du doux pays de nos ayeux
Serons-nous toujours exilées?

Engliſhed.

" O banks of Jordan! fields belov'd by heaven!
" Sacred mountains, fruitful vallies
" By miracles immortal made!
" Muſt we for ever be exil'd
" From the delicious country of our fathers?"

Abner having complained that no more miracles were ſeen; Joab, full of an holy indignation, anſwers him thus:

Et quel tems fut jamais ſi fertile en miracles?
Quand Dieu par plus d'effets montra-t-il ſon pouvoir?
Auras-tu donc toujours des yeux pour ne point voir,

Peuple

(*a*) Flechier. (*b*) Deſpreaux. (*c*) Racine.

Peuple ingrat ? Quoi toujours les plus grandes merveilles,
Sans ébranler ton cœur, frapperont tes oreilles ?

Engliſhed.

" What age, in miracles, ſo much abounded ?
" Whene'er did God ſo bright his power diſplay ?
" O wilt thou ſtill have eyes, and yet not ſee,
" Ungrateful people ? ſtill ſhall mighty wonders
" Strike ſtrong thine ear, yet not affect thy heart ?"

The *proſopopœia* is a figure that communicates action and motion to inanimate things ; makes perſons ſpeak, whether preſent or abſent, and ſometimes even the dead.

'Tis uſual with the poets to give indignation and admiration to rivers, trees ; ſadneſs to beaſts, *&c.*

(*d*) Atque indignatum magnis ſtridoribus æquor.
Pontem indignatus Araxes.
Miraturque novas frondes, et non ſua poma.
It triſtis arator,
Mœrentem abjungens fraterna morte juvencum.

(*e*) Sous de fugueux courſiers l'onde écume, et ſe plaint. . . . .
J'entens déja frémir les deux mers étonnées
De voir leurs flots unis au pié des Pyrenées.

Engliſhed.

" Beneath the fiery courſers, ocean foams,
" And vents his plaints. . . . . .
" I hear, already, the two ſeas, amaz'd,
" Tremble for fear, to ſee their waves united,
" Under the Pyrenean mountains."

The elder Pliny often paints his deſcriptions in almoſt as ſtrong colours as a poet would do. He deſcribes wonderfully, in a very few words, the grief and ſhame of a peacock, which, having loſt its tail, ſought only to hide itſelf. " (*f*) Cauda amiſſa pudibundus
" ac

(*d*) Virgil. (*e*) Deſpreaux. (*f*) Lib. 10. c. 20.

"ac mœrens quærit latebram." In another place he gives a ſenſation of joy to the earth, which anciently had ſeen itſelf cultivated by victorious generals, and broken up with a ploughſhare adorned with laurels: "(*g*) Gau-"dente terra yomere laureato, et triumphali aratore." He ſays therefore, that the houſes where the ſtatues of heroes nobly deſcended were ranged in order, ſtill triumphed, as it were, after they had changed their maſters; and that the walls reproached a coward who dwelt in them, with daily entering a place made ſacred by the monuments of the virtue and glory of others. (*h*) "Tri-"umphabant etiam dominis mutatis ipſæ domus; et erat "hæc ſtimulatio ingens, exprobrantibus tectis quotidie "imbellem dominum intrare in alienum triumphum." This paſſage was tranſlated by father Bouhours, who being unable in French to expreſs the ingenious brevity of the laſt thought, *intrare in alienum triumphum*, employed another turn, which indeed is very beautiful, but longer, and conſequently not ſo lively.

Cicero employs the ſame thought, but extends it, as an orator ſhould do; it is when he ſpeaks of the palace of Pompey the Great, which Anthony had ſeized.

He aſks the latter, if he thought he was entering his own houſe, when he entered his porch adorned with the ſpoils of the enemies, and the prows of the ſhips taken from them. He afterwards uſes the figure we are now ſpeaking of, and ſays, he pities the very roofs and walls of that unfortunate houſe, which had neither ſeen nor heard any thing but what was wiſe and honourable, when Pompey dwelt under them; but is now become an obſcure retreat for Anthony's debaucheries. "(*i*) An tu illa in veſtibulo roſtra, et hoſtium ſpolia cum "aſpexiſti, domum tuam te introire putas? fieri non "poteſt. Quamvis enim ſine mente, ſine ſenſu ſis, ut es; "tamen et te, et tua, et tuos nôſti.—Me quidem miſe-"ret,

(*g*) Lib. 18. c. 3. (*h*) Lib. 35. c. 2. (*i*) 2. Philip. n. 68, 69.

" ret parietum ipſorum atque tectorum. Quid enim " unquam domus illa viderat niſi pudicum, niſi ex optimo " more et ſanctiſſima diſciplina? .... Nunc in hujus ſe- " dibus pro cubiculis ſtabula, pro tricliniis popinæ ſunt."

This figure, which gives life, as it were, to inanimate things, adds a prodigious grace and vivacity to orations. When Cicero was pleading for Milo, he obſerved, that the law of the twelve tables allowed the ſlaying of a robber in ſome caſes; whence he draws this concluſion: " (*k*) Quis eſt qui, quoquo modo quis interfectus ſit, pu- " niendum putet, cùm videat aliquando gladium nobis ad " occidendum hominem ab ipſis porrigi legibus?" He might have ſaid barely, " cùm videat licere nobis ali- " quando per leges hominem occidere." But inſtead of that, he transforms the laws into perſons, as it were, and repreſents them as running to the aſſiſtance of a man attacked by robbers, and putting a ſword into his hand to defend himſelf. He again employs the ſame figure ſome lines after: " (*l*) Silent enim leges inter " arma, nec ſe expectari jubent: cùm ei, qui expectare " velit, ante injuſta pœna luenda ſit, quam juſta repe- " tenda."

" (*m*) At theſe cries, Jeruſalem ſhed a flood of tears, " the arches of the temple ſhook, the river Jordan was " troubled, and all its rivulets echoed the ſound of theſe " mournful words: What! is this powerful man who " ſaved the people of Iſrael, dead?

" 'Tis well known that victory is naturally cruel, " inſolent, and impious; but M. Turenne made her " gentle, rational, and religious.

" Ever ſince juſtice has groaned beneath the weight of " laws and knotty formalities, and that to ruin one ano- " ther with chicane, became a trade, kings were not able " to ſupport the fatigue of preſiding over them.

" Has not her beauty been always guarded by the " moſt ſcrupulous virtue?

" I will

(*k*) Pro Mil. n. 9. (*l*) N. 10. (*m*) Flechier.

" (*o*) I will not relate the too happy ſucceſs of his " enterprizes, nor his famous victories, which virtue was " aſhamed of; nor that long ſeries of proſperity which " has aſtoniſhed the whole world.

" (*p*) Reaſon guides a man to an entire conviction of " the hiſtorical proofs of the Chriſtian religion: after " which, it delivers and abandons him to another light, " which, though not contrary, is yet entirely different " from, and infinitely ſuperior to it."

There is another kind of proſopopœia, ſtill more lively and bolder than the firſt. 'Tis when we addreſs ourſelves to inanimate things, or make them ſpeak; or when, inſtead of relating indirectly the diſcourſes of thoſe in queſtion, we make them deliver theſe diſcourſes; or, laſtly, when we can give ſpeech to the dead.

1. *To addreſs inanimate things.*

After Cicero had given a deſcription of Clodius's death, and aſcribed it to a particular providence, he ſays, even religion and the altars of the gods were affected with it; and afterwards addreſſes his diſcourſe to them thus: " (*q*) Religiones meherculè ipſæ, aræque, cum " illam belluam cadere viderunt, commoviſſe ſe viden- " tur, et jus in illo ſuum retinuiſſe. Vos enim, Albani " tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque ob- " teſtor, voſque Albanorum obrutæ aræ, &c.

" (*r*) Had it not been for this peace, Flanders! thou " bloody theatre, where ſo many tragic ſcenes are exhi- " bited, thou wouldſt have increaſed the number of " our provinces; and, inſtead of being the unhappy " ſource of our wars, thou wouldſt now be the peace- " able fruit of our victories.

" (*s*) Sword of the Lord, what a dreadful ſtroke is " this!"

2. *To*

(*o*) Boſſuet, ſpeaking of Cromwell. (*p*) Fonten.
(*q*) Pro Mil. n. 85. (*r*) Flechier. (*s*) Boſſuet.

2. To give ſpeech to things inanimate.

[*t*] Cicero introduces the country, in one of his invectives againſt Catiline, and makes it ſometimes addreſs Catiline, and ſometimes himſelf. Appius likewiſe, in his beautiful ſpeech for continuing the ſiege of Veii, introduces the commonwealth declaring to the ſoldiers, that ſince ſhe pays them for the whole year, they ought to ſerve her for that time. [*u*] "An ſi ad calculos eum "reſpublica vocet, non merito dicat: Annua æra habes, "annuam operam ede? An tu æquum cenſes militia "ſemeſtri ſolidum te ſtipendium accipere?"

3. Speeches put into the mouths of the perſons themſelves, have quite another effect than if they were barely related; and are very well adapted to raiſe either indignation or compaſſion.

'Tis by this figure, that Cicero, in his laſt ſpeech againſt Verres, paints the cruel avarice of a goaler, who ſet a price on the tears and grief of fathers and mothers; made them purchaſe, at a dear rate, the ſad conſolation of ſeeing and embracing their children; and exacted money from them, for the favour of killing at one ſtroke thoſe unhappy victims of Verres's cruelty. (*x*) "Ade-"rat janitor carceris, carnifex prætoris, mors terrorque "ſociorum et civium, lictor Sextius, cui ex omni gemi-"tu doloreque certa merces comparabatur. Ut adeas, "tantum dabis: ut tibi cibum intro ferre liceat, tantum. "Nemo recuſabat. Quid, ut uno ictu ſecuris afferam "mortem filio tuo, quid dabis? ne diu crucietur? ne "ſæpius feriatur? ne cum ſenſu doloris aliquo aut cru-"ciatu ſpiritus auferatur? Etiam ob hanc cauſam pecu-"nia lictori dabatur. O magnum atque intolerandum "dolorem! O gravem acerbamque fortunam! Non vi-"tam liberûm, ſed mortis celeritatem, pretio redimere "cogebantur."

Milo was of a character that would not permit him to deſcend to mean ſupplications. Cicero puts a great and

[*t*] 1. Catil. n. 18. et 27.
[*u*] Liv. l. 5. n. 4.
[*x*] Verr. 7. n. 117. 118.

and noble, and at the ſame time, a ſoft and moving ſpeech into his mouth: [*x*] "Valeant, inquit, valeant cives "mei. Sint incolumes, ſint florentes, ſint beati. Stet "hæc urbs præclara, mihique patria chariſſima, quoque "modo merita de me edit. Tranquilla republica cives "mei (quoniam mihi cum illis non licet) ſine me ipſi, "ſed per me tamen, perfruantur. Ego cedam atque "abibo, &c. [*y*] The effect of this figure is, to make thoſe perſons who are introduced ſpeaking, to be preſent, as it were, to the auditors; and to write in ſuch a manner, that we may imagine we ſee and hear them.

4. The orator goes ſtill farther. He ſometimes opens graves, and makes the dead riſe out of them, to admoniſh or reprimand the living. We have two fine examples of this figure in [*z*] Cicero's plea for Cœlius, to which I refer the reader.

At other times, the orator directs his diſcourſe to the dead: "[*a*] Great queen, I gratify your moſt affectio-"nate wiſhes, when I celebrate this monarch; and this "heart, which never lived but for him, awakens, "though it be duſt, and becomes ſenſible, even under "this pall, at the name of ſo dear a conſort."

[*b*] To make theſe fictions pleaſing, 'tis requiſite that the utmoſt ſtrength of eloquence ſhould be employed, as Quintilian obſerves; for things that are extraordinary and incredible, and, as it were, out of nature, don't produce an indifferent effect. They muſt therefore neceſſarily either make a very ſtrong impreſſion, becauſe they go beyond the bounds of truth, or be looked upon as puerilities, becauſe they are falſe.

[*c*] The *hypotypoſis* is a figure which paints the image of

[*x*] Pro Mil. n. 92.

[*y*] Non audire judex videtur aliena mala deflentes, ſed ſenſum ac vocem auribus accipere miſerorum, quorum etiam mutus aſpectus lachrymas movet. Quint. l. 6. c. 1. [*z*] Pro Cœl. n. 33. 36. [*a*] Boſſuet.

[*b*] Magna quædam vis eloquentiæ deſideratur. Falſa enim et incredibilia natura neceſſe eſt aut magis moveant, quia ſupra vera ſunt; aut pro vanis accipiantur, quia vera non ſunt. Quint. l. 9 c. 2.

[*c*] Ὑποτύπωσις dicitur, propoſita quædam forma rerum ita expreſſa verbis, ut cerni potius videatur, quam audiri. Quint. l. 9. c. 2.

Magna

of the things we are ſpeaking of, in ſuch lively colours, that we think we ſee them, inſtead of hearing them barely related: and in this chiefly conſiſts the force and power of eloquence, which has not ſufficient authority, nor all the effect it ought to have, if it only ſtrikes the ear, without moving the imagination, and reaching the heart.

1. Theſe images are ſometimes formed with a few words, and are not the leaſt affecting.

[*d*] Virgil paints, in a verſe and a half, the conſternation of Euryalus's mother the inſtant ſhe heard of his death:

Miſeræ calor oſſa reliquit:
Excuſſi manibus radii, revolutaque penſa.

[*e*] Cicero paints in two lines Verres's anger, or rather madneſs: 'Ipſe inflammatus ſcelere ac furore in 'forum venit. Ardebant oculi: toto ex ore crudelitas 'eminebat.'

He elſewhere draws another picture of Verres ſtill more beautiful, and in as few words, though it does not ſtrike ſo much at firſt: as it happens ſometimes with pictures, whoſe beauty is only perceived by the ſkilful. '[*f*] Stetit ſoleatus prætor populi Romani 'cum pallio purpureo tunicaque talari, muliercula nixus 'in littore.' Quintilian explains, in an admirable manner, the force and energy of that ſhort deſcription. He recites the very words, becauſe they may ſerve as a model to maſters for the better underſtanding and explaining of authors. '[*g*] An quiſquam,' ſays he, 'tam 'procul à concipiendis imaginibus rerum abeſt, ut cùm 'illa in Verrem legit, *ſtetit ſoleatus, &c.* non ſolùm ip-'ſum os intueri videatur, et locum, et habitum, ſed 'quædam etiam ex iis, quæ dicta non ſunt, ſibi ipſe 'aſtruat? Ego certè mihi cernere videor et vultum, et 'oculos, et deformes utriuſque blanditias, et eorum 'qui

Magna virtus eſt, res, de quibus loquimur, clare, atque ut cerni videantur, enunciare. Non enim ſatis efficit, neque, ut debet, plene dominatur oratio, ſi uſque ad aures volet, atque ea ſibi judex, de quibus cognoſcit, narrari credit, non exprimi, et oculis mentis oſtendi. Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

[*d*] Æn. l. 9. v. 475.
[*e*] In Verr. 7. n. 58. [*f*] In Verr. 7. n. 160. [*g*] Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

'qui aderant tacitam averſationem, ac tumidam vere-'cundiam.' If we change ſome words in Cicero's deſcription, and change the place of others, making it, 'ſtetit Verres in littore ... cum muliere colloquens,' this excellent picture will loſe a great part of its vivacity and colouring. The chief beauty conſiſts in painting a Roman prætor in the attitude Cicero repreſents him, leaning in a careleſs and indolent manner on a woman. Theſe two words, *muliercula nixus*, are a ſpeaking picture, which preſents to the eye and the mind, all that Quintilian ſees in it. *In littore* reſerved for the cloſe, adds the laſt touch, as we have already obſerved in another place; and diſplays the ungovernable licentiouſneſs of Verres, who, by appearing in ſo indecent a poſture upon the ſhore, and before a multitude of ſpectators, ſeemed inſolently to ſet all decency and public decorum at defiance.

Our poets are full of theſe ſhort and lively deſcriptions.

[*b*] Son courſier écumant ſous ſon maitre intrepide,
Nage tout orgueilleux de la main qui le guide.

Engliſhed.

'His foaming ſteed, beneath his dauntleſs rider,
'Swims, proud of the glorious hand which guides 'him.'

And again,

Quatre bœufs attelés, d'un pas tranquille et lent,
Promenoient dans Paris le monarque indolent.

Engliſhed.

'Four harneſs'd oxen, with an eaſy pace,
'Drag the lethargic monarch about Paris.'

But nothing is more perfect than the following picture:

La molleſſe oppreſſée
Dans ſa bouche à ce mot ſent ſa langue glacée,
Et laſſe de parler, ſuccombant ſous l'effort,
Soupire, étend les bras, ferme l'œil, et s'endort.

Engliſhed.

[*b*] Deſpreaux.

Engliſhed.

" This word oppreſſes ſloth;
" Inſtant her tongue is frozen in her mouth:
" Now dead to ſpeech, ſinking beneath her efforts,
" She ſtretches, ſighs, ſhe ſhuts her eyes and ſleeps."

2. The deſcriptions I have hitherto given are ſhort, and only exhibit a ſingle object. But there are others of a greater length, and more circumſtantiated, which reſemble thoſe pictures where ſeveral figures are repreſented, all the attitudes of which ſtrike and command our attention. Such is that deſcription of a riotous entertainment, mentioned in an harangue of Cicero, which is loſt. 'Videbar mihi videre alios intrantes 'alios autem exeuntes, partim ex vino vacillantes, 'partim heſterna potatione oſcitantes. Verſabatur inter 'hos Gallius unguentis oblitus, redimitus coronis. 'Humus erat immunda, lutulenta vino, coronis languidulis et ſpinis cooperta piſcium.' Quintilian, who preſerved this beautiful fragment, diſplays its beauty and value by a very lively expreſſion, which compriſes the whole. " [*i*] Quid plus videret, qui intrâſſet?" He himſelf gives an excellent deſcription of a town taken by ſtorm and plundered, which is well worth reading. We find a great number of this kind in Cicero, which will not eſcape the obſervation of a diligent maſter. Our French poets, as well as orators, abound alſo with a multitude of theſe.

Joſabeth in Racine's Athaliah, gives us a wonderful deſcription of the manner in which ſhe ſaved Joas from the ſlaughter.

[*k*] Hélas! l'état horrible où le ciel me l'offrit,
Revient à tout moment effraier mon eſprit,
De princes égorgés la chambre étoit remplie.
Un poignard à la main l'implacable Athalie
Au carnage animoit ſes barbares ſoldats,
Et pourſuivoit le cours de ſes aſſaſſinats

Joas

[*i*] Quint. l. 8. c. 3. [*k*] Racine.

Joas laiſſé pour mort, frapa ſoudain ma vûe.
Je me figure encore ſa nourrice éperdue,
Qui devant les bourreaux s'étoit jettée en vain,
Et foible le tenoit renverſé ſur ſon ſein.
Je le pris tout ſanglant. En baignant ſon viſage,
Mes pleurs du ſentiment lui rendirent l'uſage:
Et ſoit fraieur encore, ou pour me careſſer.
De ſes bras innocens je me ſentis preſſer.

Engliſhed.

" Alas! the ſtate in which heav'n gave him to me,
" Returns each moment to my frighted ſoul;
" The room was fill'd around with murder'd princes.
" Dread Athaliah, with her ſword unſheath'd,
" Rouz'd her barbarian ſoldiers to the ſlaughter,
" And ſtill purſued the ſeries of her murders.
" Joas, now left as dead! ſtruck, ſtrong, my ſight;
" Methinks I ſtill behold his weeping nurſe,
" Kneeling, in vain, before the bloody hangman;
" The tender babe upon her breaſt reclin'd.
" I took him, bloody: bathing then his face,
" Soon did my tears recal his fleeting breath.
" Whether 'twas fear, or whether to embrace me,
" I felt him preſs me with his tender arms."

M. Flechier's deſcription of hoſpitals may ſerve as a model in this kind. 'Tis in the queen's funeral oration. " Let us behold her in theſe hoſpitals, where " ſhe practiſed her public acts of piety; in thoſe " places, where all the infirmities and accidents of " human life are aſſembled: where the groans and " complaints of thoſe who ſuffer, and are in pain, " fill the ſoul with ſympathetic ſadneſs; where the " ſmell that exhales from the bodies of ſo many diſ- " eaſed patients, makes thoſe who attend upon them " ready to faint away; where we ſee pain and po- " verty exerciſing their fatal empire; and where the " image of miſery and death ſtrikes almoſt every " ſenſe. It is there, that, raiſing herſelf above the " fears and delicacies of nature, to ſatisfy her charity,

" though

" though at the hazard of her health, ſhe was ſeen " every week drying up the tears of this object; pro- " viding for the wants of that; procuring remedies " and comforts for the evils of ſome, and conſolations " and eaſe of conſcience for others."

Theſe paſſages are very well adapted to the taſte of youth. (*l*) We muſt obſerve to them, that the moſt certain way of ſucceeding in deſcriptions of this kind, is to conſult nature, to ſtudy her well, and to take her as a guide; ſo that every one inwardly ſenſible of the truth of what is ſpoke, may find within himſelf the ſentiments expreſſed in the diſcourſe. (*m*) For that purpoſe, we muſt repreſent to ourſelves, in a lively manner, all the circumſtances of the thing to be deſcribed, and bring it before us by the ſtrength of our imagination; as if we had been ſpectators of it. (*n*) And why, ſays Quintilian, ſhould not the imagination perform as much for the orator on this occaſion, as ſhe does for people, who are addicted to any kind of paſſions, as, for inſtance, miſers or ambitious men, who in this kind of pleaſing dreams, in which they form a thouſand chimerical projects of fortune and riches, abandon themſelves ſo much to the object of their darling paſſion, and are ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed with it, that they really believe they ſee and enjoy it.

Quintilian himſelf furniſhes us with a model of this way of making a deſcription, which I will quote at length, becauſe it ſhews youth how they muſt pro-

(*l*) Naturam intueamur, hanc ſequamur. Omnis eloquentia circa opera vitæ eſt: ad ſe refert quiſque quæ audit: et id facilime accipiunt animi, quod cognoſcunt. Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

(*m*) Per quas (φαντασίας) imagines rerum abſentium ita repræſentantur animo; ut eas cernere oculis ac præſentes habere videamur. Has quiſquis bene conceperit, is erit in affectibus potentiſſimus. Hunc quidam dicunt ὑφαντασιώτον, qui ſibi res, voces, actus ſecundum verum optime fingit. Quint. l. 6. cap. 2.

(*n*) Nam ſi inter otia animorum, et ſpes inanes, et velut ſomnia quædam vigilantium, ita nos hæ de quibus loquimur imagines proſequuntur, ut peregrinari, navigare, præliari, populos alloqui, divitiarum quas non habemus uſum videamur diſponere, nec cogitare, ſed facere: hoc animi vitium ad utilitatem non transferemus? Ibid.

ceed in it, in order to compoſe well (*o*) " Ut hominem " occiſum querar, non omnia, quæ in re præſenti acci- " diſſe credibile eſt, in oculis habebo? Non percuſſor " ille ſubitus erumpet? non expaveſcet circumventus? " exclamabit, vel rogabit, vel fugiet? non ferientem, " non concidentem videbo? non animo ſanguis, et pal- " lor, et gemitus, extremus denique expirantis hiatus " inſidet?" This paſſage ſeems to be copied from Cicero, who thus deſcribes a like action. (*p*) " Nonne vo- " bis hæc, quæ audiſtis, cernere oculis videmini, Judi- " ces? Non illum miſerum ignarum caſus ſui, redeuntem " a cœna videtis? non poſitas inſidias? non impe- " tum repentinum? Non verſatur ante oculos vobis in " cæde Glaucia? Non adeſt iſte Roſcius? non ſuis ma- " nibus in curru collocat Automedontem illum, ſui ſce- " leris acerbiſſimi nefariæque victoriæ nuncium?"

IMAGES.

The laſt words of the deſcription I have here cited, direct me to point out to youth in this place one of the moſt common ſources of oratorial beauties, which conſiſts in giving as it were, body and reality to the things we are ſpeaking of; and painting them by viſible ſtrokes, which may ſtrike the ſenſes, move the imagination, and preſent a ſenſible object. This method has ſome relation to the precedent figure, the hypotheſis, and perhaps is a part of it. *Non ſuis manibus in curru collocat Automedontem illum?* Theſe words, *ſuis manibus*, produce here the effect I am ſpeaking of, and preſent an image to the mind. The ſame obſervation may be made on the two verſes above cited.

Un poignard à la main l'implacable Athalie
Au carnage animoit ſes barbares ſoldats.

Engliſhed.

" Fierce Athalia, in her hand a poinard,
" Prompted her ſavage ſoldiers to the ſlaughter."

This touch, *with a poinard in her hand*, forms all the vivacity of theſe lines. The objects we deſcribe may be painted

(*o*) Quint. l. 6. c. 2. (*p*) Pro Roſc. Amer. n. 98.

painted in this manner with infinite variety, of which I ſhall give ſeveral examples, that the reader may apply to the rule I have already given.

(*q*) " Tendit ad vos virgo veſtalis manus ſupplices " eaſdem, quas pro vobis diis immortalibus tendere " conſuevit.——Proſpicite ne ignis ille æternus, noc- " turnis Fonteiæ laboribus vigiliiſque ſervatus, ſacer- " dotis Veſtæ lacrymis extinctus eſſe dicatur.

(*r*) " Hæc magnitudo maleficii facit, ut, niſi pene " manifeſtum parricidium proferatur, credibile non ſit.— " Pene dicam reſperſas manus ſanguine paterno judices " videant oportet, ſi tantum facinus, tam immane, tam " acerbum crediturí ſint."

(*s*) ' What nation has not felt the effects of his valour? ' and which of our frontier towns has not ſerved as a ' theatre to his glory?

' In the tumult and noiſe of armies, he uſed to enter- ' tain himſelf with the ſweet and ſecret hopes of his ' ſolitude. With one hand he fell upon the Amale- ' kites, while the other was lifted up to draw down upon ' himſelf the bleſſings of heaven.

' It taught him to lift up his pure, his innocent hands ' to heaven.

' Before he accepted of any poſt or employment, he ' would know the duties of it. The firſt tribunal he ' aſcended, was that of his conſcience, there to exa- ' mine his intentions thoroughly.

' When he reſtored God's worſhip, in his conqueſts; ' and as he was marching upon thoſe ramparts he had ' a little before demoliſhed, his firſt homage was his ' offering to God the laurels he had won, at the foot ' of his altars which he reſtored.

' I am not afraid of blending her praiſes with the ſa- ' crifice offered for her; and I take from the altar all the ' incenſe I burn upon her tomb.—Why ſhould I take ' off the veil which ſhe threw over her actions?

(*q*) Pro M. Font. n. 37, 38. (*r*) Pro Roſc. Amer. n. 68, (*s*) Flechier

'He made it his ſtudy to diſcover truth, through 'the veils of falſhood and impoſture with which human 'luſts cover it.

(*t*) 'Are ſuch truths learnt at court, in the army, under the helmet, and the coat of mail?

(*u*) 'You think then, that anxiety and the moſt 'deadly ſorrows, are not to be hid under royal robes; 'that a kingdom is an univerſal remedy againſt all evils? 'Methinks I ſtill ſee that flower falling." *Speaking of the death of an infant prince.*

'When all things ſubmitted to Lewis, and we be-'lieved the miraculous times were returning, when 'walls fell down at the ſound of trumpets; the whole 'nation caſt their eyes on the Queen, and thought 'they ſaw the thunder, which demoliſhed ſo many 'cities, fly from her oratory.

(*x*) 'With a calm and ſerene aſpect, he (Lewis 'XIV.) formed thoſe thunderbolts which were heard 'throughout the world, and thoſe which ſtill remain 'to be hurled.'

(*y*) Pour comble de proſpérité
Il eſpere (*l'impie*) reviver en ſa poſterité:
Et d'enfans à ſa table une riante troupe
Semble boire avec lui la joie à pleine coupe.

Engliſhed.

"The wretch, more proſp'rous ſtill,
"Hopes to revive in his poſterity:
"Fancies his children are converſing with him,
"And fluſh'd with joy ſmiles o'er the flowing bowls."

Before I conclude this article, I muſt obſerve in general, (*z*) that figures ought to be applied with great diſcern-

(*t*) Maſcar. (*u*) Boſſuet. (*x*) Peliſſon. (*y*) Racine.
(*z*) Una in re maxime utilis, ut quotidiani et ſemper eodem modo formati ſermonis faſtidium levet, et nos à vulgari dicendi genere defendat. Quo ſi quis parce, et cum res poſcet, utetur, velut aſperſo quodam condimento, jucundior erit. At qui nimium affectaverit, ipſam illam gratiam varietatis amittet——Nam et ſecretæ et extra vulgarem

diſcernment and prudence. They are like ſeaſoning to an oration; they raiſe the ſtile, make us quit the vulgar and common way of ſpeaking, prevent the diſtaſte which a tireſome uniformity would occaſion; but then they muſt be employed ſparingly, and with diſcretion; for if they are uſed too often, they loſe the grace of variety, in which their principal merit conſiſts; and the more they ſhine, the more they diſguſt, and tire, from a vicious affectation, which ſhews they are not natural, but far-fetched with too much care, and, as it were, forced in.

It is not neceſſary to obſerve, that ſome figures are ſo common and trivial, they have loſt all their beauty, eſpecially when they are too long. (*z*) "Miſerum eſt "exturbari fortunis omnibus: miſerius eſt injuria. Acer-"bum eſt—acerbius. Calamitoſum eſt—calamitoſius. "Funeſtum eſt—funeſtius. Indignum eſt—indignius. "Luctuoſum eſt—luctuoſius. Horribile eſt—horribi-"lius." The auditor anticipates the anſwer, and is tired of this burden of a ſong always in the ſame ſtrain. The ſame may be obſerved of the other figures, which is ſtill more tedious. (*a*) Qui ſunt qui fœdera ſæpe rupe-"runt? Carthaginienſes. Qui ſunt qui in Italia crude-"le bellum geſſerunt? Carthaginienſes. Qui ſunt, &c."

ARTICLE THE SIXTH.

Of ORATORIAL PRECAUTIONS.

I HERE give that name to a certain care which the orator muſt take not to offend the delicacy of thoſe before, or of whom, he is ſpeaking; and the ſtudied and artful turns which he employs to expreſs ſome things,

garem uſum poſitæ, ideoque magis nobiles, ut novitate aurem excitant, ita copia ſatiant: nec ſe obvias fuiſſe dicenti, ſed conquiſitas, et ex omnibus latebris extractas congeſtaſque declarant. Quintil. l. 9. c. 3.

(*z*) Pro Quint. n. 95.

(*a*) Cornif. l. 4.

things, that otherwiſe would appear harſh and offenſive. I call this oratorial precautions, becauſe it contains an art and addreſs, certainly eſſential to rhetoric, and for that reaſon deſerves the attention of youth. Some examples will render the thing more obvious.

Chryſogonus, Sylla's freedman, was in ſuch credit with his maſter, (who was then abſolute in the commonwealth) that no lawyer durſt plead againſt him in behalf of Roſcius. Cicero only, though very young, had the courage to undertake ſo delicate a cauſe. (*b*) He is very careful throughout the whole ſpeech, to obſerve in ſeveral places, that Sylla was a ſtranger to all the villanies of his freedman; that great induſtry had been uſed to conceal them from him; that thoſe who could have informed him of them, were denied all acceſs to him; that, on the whole, it was not ſurpriſing that (*c*) Sylla, who alone had the care of re-eſtabliſhing and governing the commonwealth, ſhould not know or neglect ſeveral things, ſince a great many eſcaped the knowledge and attention of Jupiter himſelf in the government of the univerſe. It is very obvious that ſuch precautions were abſolutely neceſſary.

Cicero, in his pleading called *Divinatio in Verrem*, is obliged to ſhew that he is fitter to plead againſt Verres than Cecilius. (*d*) Such a cauſe was to be managed with great addreſs and conduct, to avoid giving offence; for ſelf-praiſe is always odious, eſpecially when it turns on wit and eloquence. After Cicero had proved that Cecilius had none of the qualifications neceſſary for a cauſe of ſo much importance, he is far from aſcribing them to himſelf: ſo groſs a vanity would have ſet every body againſt him. (*e*) He ſays only, that he had laboured all his life to acquire

(*b*) Pro Roſc. n. 21, 22, 25, 91, 110, 127. (*c*) N. 131.

(*d*) Intelligo quam ſcopuloſo difficilique in loco verſer. Nam cum omnis arrogantia odioſa eſt, tum illa ingenii atque eloquentiæ multo moleſtiſſima, n 36.

(*e*) Fortaſſe dices: Quid? Ergo hæc in te ſunt omnia? Utinam quidem eſſent! veruntamen ut eſſe poſſent magno ſtudio mihi à pueritia eſt elaboratum, n. 40.

acquire them, and that if he was not able to ſucceed, notwithſtanding his great pains and induſtry; it is not ſurpriſing that Cecilius, who never had any idea of this noble profeſſion, ſhould be abſolutely incapable of it.

When he pleaded for Flaccus he was to invalidate the teſtimony of ſeveral Greeks, who had ſwore againſt his client. To do this the more effectually, he attempts to depreciate the nation itſelf, as not over ſcrupulous in matters of veracity and ſincerity. He does not begin abruptly with ſo harſh a charge. At firſt, he ſets apart, as it were, a real number of worthy perſons, who are far from being carried away with the blind paſſion of ſome of their countrymen. He afterwards gives great encomiums to the whole nation, highly magnifying their genius, abilities, politeneſs, their taſte for arts, and their marvellous talent for eloquence: but he adds, that the Greeks never piqued themſelves upon being exact or ſincere in giving evidence. (*g*) 'Veruntamen hoc dico 'de toto genere Græcorum: tribuo illis literas; do 'multarum artium diſciplinam; non adimo ſermonis 'leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam; deni-'que etiam, ſi qua ſibi alia ſumunt, non repugno: teſti-'moniorum religionem et fidem nunquam iſta natio co-'luit, totiuſque hujuſce rei quæ ſit vis, quæ auctoritas, 'quod pondus, ignorant.'

We know Cicero excelled chiefly in moving the paſſions, and that he often drew tears from the eyes of his auditors, by the ſoft and affecting diſcourſe he put into the mouths of his clients, in the concluſión of his pleadings. The greatneſs of ſoul and noble pride upon which Milo valued himſelf, deprived his advocate of ſo powerful a reſource. (*g*) But Cicero had the art of making even his courage of ſervice towards gaining the favour of the judges; and he himſelf aſſumed the character of a petitioner, which he could not give to his client.

The

(*f*) Pro Flacco, n. 9.

(g) Ergo et ille captavit ex illa præſtantia animi favorem, et in locum lachrymarum ejus ipſe ſucceſſit. Quintil. 6. c. 1.

The inviolable reſpect which children owe to their parents, even when they treat them with rigour and injuſtice, makes ſome conjunctures very difficult, in which they are obliged to ſpeak againſt their parents; and it is on theſe occaſions that true rhetoric furniſhes turns and artful ſtrokes, which give to paternal authority whatever is its due, without loſing any of the advantages of the cauſe. (*h*) It muſt then be inculcated, that nothing but indiſpenſible neceſſity can force, from the mouths of children, complaints which their hearts would ſuppreſs; and that even through thoſe complaints, not only a fund of reſpect may be diſcovered, but one of love and tenderneſs alſo. A fine example of this precept may be ſeen in the pleading for Cluentius, whom his mother treated with unheard-of cruelty.

(*i*) The rule I have now touched upon regards every inferior, who has any juſt pretenſions againſt a ſuperior, whom he ought to reſpect and honour.

There are ſome occaſions where intereſt or decency will not permit us to explain ourſelves in expreſs terms, (*k*) but in which we would, at the ſame time, inſinuate to the judge ſome things we dare not ſpeak openly. A ſon, for example, cannot gain his ſuit without diſcovering a crime of which his father is guilty. (*l*) The things themſelves, ſays Quintilian, muſt lead the judge inſenſibly to gueſs at what the parties are unwilling to declare; that, every other motive being laid aſide, he may be forced, as it were, to ſee the only one which remains; and

(*h*) Hoc illis commune remedium eſt; ſi in tota actione æqualiter appareat, non honor modo, ſed etiam caritas: præterea cauſa ſit nobis juſta ſic dicendi; neque id moderate tantum faciamus, ſed etiam neceſſario. Quint. l. 11. c. 1. (*i*) N. 12. & 17.

(*k*) In quo per quandam ſuſpicionem, quod non dicimus accipi volumus. Quint. l. 9. c. 2.

(*l*) Res ipſæ perducant judicem ad ſuſpicionem, et amoliamur cætera, ut hoc ſolum ſuperſit: in quo multum etiam affectus juvant, et interrupta ſilentio dictio, et cunctationes. Sic enim fiet, ut judex quærat illud neſcio, quod quod ipſe fortaſſe non crederet, ſi audiret, et ei, quod à ſe inventum exiſtimat, credat. Ibid.

and which the reſpect for a father hinders him from diſcovering. And then, the ſon's ſpeech being ſuſpended and interrupted from time to time as it were, by a forced ſilence and a warm ſenſe of tenderneſs, muſt explain the violence he does himſelf, to prevent his letting words drop, which the force of truth would ſeemingly extort from him. By this, the judge is inclined to inquire after that inexpreſſible ſomething, which he would not perhaps have believed, had it been diſcovered to him; but which he now is fully convinced of, from the belief that he has diſcovered it by his own inquiry.

There are likewiſe ſome perſons of ſo venerable a character and ſo univerſal a reputation, that their very names are enough to bear down their adverſaries. Such was Cato in his conteſt with Murena; and we cannot make youth too ſenſible of the ſurpriſing art with which (*m*) Cicero deprived Cato of ſome part of his authority and credit, by the picture he drew of the ſect of the Stoics, which he turned into ridicule, with ſo much wit and humour, that Cato himſelf could not forbear laughing at it; and this, without ſaying any thing derogatory to his perſon, which was to be, in a manner, ſacred to him, and was certainly inacceſſible and impregnable to any kind of cenſure.

Was there ever a nicer or more difficult affair than that which Cicero undertook, in oppoſing the levelling or Agrarian law? for ſo they called the law which appointed lands to be diſtributed among the pooreſt of people. That law had at all times ſerved the tribunes as a bait to gain the populace, and to fix them in their intereſt. It appeared indeed to be very much in their favour, by procuring them repoſe, and a ſafe retreat. However, Cicero undertakes to make the people themſelves reject it, juſt after they had choſen him conſul, with unparallelled marks of diſtinction. Had

(*m*) Quam molli autem articulo tractavit Catonem, cujus naturam ſumme admiratus, non ipſius vitio ſed Stoicæ, ſectæ, quibuſdam in rebus factam duriorem videri volebat. Quint. l. 11. c. 3.

he begun with ſpeaking openly againſt that law, the whole people would have exclaimed and roſe againſt him. He was too wiſe, and too well acquainted with men, to act after that manner. It deſerves our admiration, to ſee how long he keeps his auditors in ſuſpenſe, without letting them diſcover what party he had taken, or what opinion he intended to inculcate. He employs at firſt all the power of his eloquence, to ſhew the people the lively ſenſe he had of the very ſignal favour he had lately received from them. He carefully heightens all the circumſtances of it, which reflected ſo much honour upon him. He afterwards takes notice of the duties and obligations, which ſo unanimous a conſent of the people in chuſing him conſul, had laid him under. He declares, that as he is obliged to them for all his honours and dignities, he ſhall always have the popular intereſt at heart, not only during the continuance of his office, but during his life. But he takes notice, that the word *popular* requires explanation: And, after ſhewing its various acceptations; after he had diſcovered the ſecret intrigues of the tribunes, who concealed their ambitious deſigns under that plauſible name; after he had highly applauded the Gracchi, who were zealous defenders of the Agrarian law, and whoſe memory, for that reaſon, was ſo dear to the Roman people; after he had thus inſinuated himſelf by degrees into the minds of the auditors, and gained them entirely; he does not however, dare yet attack openly the law in queſtion, but contents himſelf with proteſting, that in caſe the people, after hearing him, do not acknowledge, that this law, under a deceitful outſide, gives, in effect, a blow to their quiet and their liberty, he then will join them, and ſubmit to their opinion. This is a perfect model of what we call an *inſinuatory exordium* in the ſchools; and methinks one ſuch paſſage as this is ſufficient for forming the underſtanding of youth, and teaching them the dexterous and reſpectful way of combating the

the opinion of thoſe who are not to be oppoſed directly, on the ſcore of acknowledgment and ſubmiſſion. This diſcourſe had all the effect which was expected from it; and the people being undeceived by the eloquent diſcourſe of their conſul, repealed the Agrarian law.

The paſſage in Cicero's oration for Ligarius, where an inquiry is made what people ought to think of Pompey's party, required to be handled with great nicety. Tubero had declared thoſe to be criminal who bore arms againſt Cæſar. Cicero heightens and condemns the harſhneſs of that expreſſion; and after recapitulating the different names given to the conduct of thoſe who had declared for Pompey, as error, fear, luſt, paſſion, prepoſſeſſion, intoxication, raſhneſs: "For my part, ſays he, if people aſk "me, what is the proper and true name which ought to "be given to our misfortune, methinks 'tis a fatal influ- "ence that has blinded men, and forced them along, in "ſpite of all their endeavours to the contrary; ſo that "we muſt not wonder to ſee the inſurmountable will of "the gods prevail over the counſels of men." *(n)* "Ac "mihi quidem, ſi proprium et verum nomen noſtri mali "quæratur, fatalis quædam calamitas incidiſſe videtur, "et improvidas hominum mentes occupaviſſe: ut nemo "mirari debeat, humana conſilia divina neceſſitate eſſe "ſuperata." There was nothing in this definition injurious to Pompey's party; and ſo far from offending Cæſar, it pleaſed him very much.

Such of our writers as have treated of the laſt civil wars of France, ſeem to have had the above mentioned paſſage of Cicero in view; but then they have very much improved upon the original.

(*o*) "Alas! unhappy France! though thou gotteſt "rid of that enemy, were there not ſtill enough re- "maining, without turning thine arms againſt thy- "ſelf? What fatal influence could induce thee to "ſhed ſo much blood? Why cannot we obliterate "thoſe melancholy years from hiſtory, and keep "them

(*n*) Pro Ligar. n. 171. (*o*) Maſcar. M. de Turenne's fun. Orat.

" them from the knowledge of our poſterity? But ſince " 'tis impoſſible to paſs over things, which the ſhedding " of ſo much blood has too ſtrongly recorded, let us re- " veal them at leaſt, like that artful painter who invent- " ed the profile, in order to conceal the blemiſhes in a " face. Let us remove from our ſight that darkneſs of " mind, that fatal night, which being formed in the con- " fuſion of public affairs by ſo many different intereſts, " made even thoſe go aſtray who ſought for the right path.

(*p*) " Do you, gentlemen, remember that period of " diſorder and confuſion, when the gloomy ſpirit of diſ- " cord confounded juſtice and right with paſſion, duty with " intereſt, the good cauſe with the bad; when moſt of " the brighteſt ſtars ſuffered ſome eclipſe, and the moſt " faithful ſubjects ſaw themſelves involuntarily drawn " away by the torrent of parties, like thoſe pilots, who " finding themſelves ſurprized by a ſtorm in the midſt " of the ocean are obliged to change their courſe, and " abandon themſelves for a time to the winds and the " tempeſt? ſuch is God's juſtice; ſuch is the natural " infirmity of men: but the wiſe man eaſily recovers " himſelf; and there is both in politics and in religion, " a kind of repentance more glorious than innocence it- " ſelf, which makes an advantageous reparation for a " little frailty, by extraordinary virtues, and a con- " tinual fervour."

(*q*) " What ſhall I ſay? God ſuffered the winds and " waves to roar and toſs, and the ſtorm aroſe. A peſti- " ferous air of factions and inſurrections won the heart " of the ſtate, and extended itſelf to the moſt diſtant " parts. The paſſions, which our ſins had kindled, " broke down the fences of juſtice and reaſon; and the " wiſeſt men being drawn away by the unhappineſs of " engagements and conjunctures, againſt their own " inclinations found they had ſtrayed beyond the bounds " of their duty, before they perceived it."

ARTI-

(*p*) Flechier, in M. Turenne's funeral oration.
(*q*) M. Flechier, in M. de Tellier's funeral oration.

ARTICLE THE SEVENTH.

Of the PASSIONS.

I Should be extremely tedious, did I undertake to touch even but curſorily all that concerns this ſubject, it being one of the moſt important in rhetoric. 'Tis known that the paſſions are, as it were, the ſoul of an oration; that 'tis from them it derives that impetuoſity and vehemence, which bear down all before them; and (*r*) that the orator, by their means, attains an abſolute empire over his auditors, and inſpires them with whatever ſentiments he pleaſes; ſometimes by artfully taking advantage of the bias and favourable diſpoſition of peoples minds, but at other times in ſurmounting all their oppoſition by the victorious ſtrength of the oration, and obliging them to ſurrender, as it were, in ſpite of themſelves. Cæſar was not able to reſiſt, when he heard Cicero's defence of Ligarius, though he was much upon his guard againſt his eloquence; being determined, when he came out of his own houſe, not to pardon the latter.

I think it ſufficient to refer youth to Cicero's * perorations, and to exhort them to make the application themſelves of the excellent precepts left us by Cicero and Quintilian on this ſubject. (*s*) The moſt important of all is, that, in order to affect others, we muſt be affected ourſelves; for which end, we muſt be deeply touched with the ſubject we treat of, be fully

(*r*) Tantam vim habet illa, quæ recte à bono poeta dicta eſt, *flexanima atque omnium regina rerum oratio*, ut non modo inclinantem erigere, aut ſtantem inclinare, ſed etiam adverſantem et repugnantem, ut imperator bonus ac fortis, capere poſſit. Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 187.

* Concluſions of a ſpeech.

(*s*) Summa circa movendos affectus in hoc poſita eſt, ut moveamur ipſi.... Primum eſt ut apud nos valeant ea quæ valere apud judicem volumus, afficiamurque antequam afficere conemur.... Ubi miſeratione opus erit, nobis ea de quibus querimur, accidiſſe credamus, atque id animo noſtro perſuadeamus. Nos illi ſimus, quos gravia, indigna triſtia paſſos queramur. Nec agamus rem quaſi alienam, ſed aſſumamus parumper illum dolorem. Ita dicemus, quæ id ſimili noſtro caſu dicturi eſſemus. Quint. l. 6. c. 2.

fully convinced of it, and be ſenſible of its whole truth and importance. We muſt likewiſe form a ſtrong repreſentation to ourſelves of the things we would make uſe of, to move the paſſions of the auditors, and deſcribe them in a warm and lively manner; and this we ſhall do, if we are careful to ſtudy nature, and to take her always for our guide. (*t*) For whence comes it, that we ſee ignorant perſons expreſs themſelves with ſo much eloquence, in the firſt ſallies of their grief or anger, except 'tis becauſe thoſe ſenſations are not ſtudied or fictitious, but drawn from truth and nature itſelf?

(*u*) An Athenian having intreated Demoſthenes to plead for him againſt a citizen, from whom he pretended to have received a great affront; and as he was giving a relation of his pretended ill uſage with a cold and ſedate tone of voice, without paſſion or warmth; Not a word of this is true, ſays Demoſthenes; you have not been ill treated, as you ſay you were. How! replies the other, raiſing his voice, and ſeeming in a great paſſion: Have not I been ill treated, have not I been injured? Upon hearing this tone of voice, Demoſthenes perceived the truth, and undertook the cauſe. (*x*) Cicero relates ſomething like this of an orator named Callidius, againſt whom he pleaded: What! ſays he, if it were true that a deſign was formed againſt your life, as you pretend, would you ſpeak of an attempt of this kind with ſuch a languid careleſs air, which, ſo far from moving the paſſions of your auditors, is fit only to lull them aſleep? Is that the language of grief and indignation, which put lively and animated complaints into the mouths

(*t*) Quid enim aliud eſt cauſæ, ut lugentes utique in recenti dolore diſertiſſime quædam exclamare videantur, et ira nonnunquam indoctis quoque eloquentiam faciat, quam quod illis ineſt vis mentis, at veritas ipſa morum? Ibid. (*u*) Plut. in vit. Demoſth.

(*x*) Hoc ipſum poſuit pro argumento, quod ille tam ſolute egiſſet, tam leniter, tam oſcitanter. Tu iſthuc, M. Callidi, niſi fingeres, ſic ageres? .... Ubi dolor? ubi ardor animi, qui etiam ex infantium ingeniis élicere voces et querelas ſolet? Nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis. ... Itaque tantum abfuit ut inflammares noſtros animos: ſemnum iſto loco vix tenebamus. Brut. n. 277, 278.

mouths even of children? Theſe two examples ſhew that we muſt be moved ourſelves, if we would move others, and feel the ſame emotions in our own breaſts, with which we would inſpire others. (*x*) "Si vis me "flere, dolendum eſt primùm ipſi tibi."

(*y*) The peroration is the proper place for the paſſions. It is there the orator diſplays all that is powerful, tender, and moving in eloquence, according to the importance and nature of affairs, in order to complete his conqueſt over the hearts of the auditors, and to extort their conſent.

Sometimes he does not ſtay till the concluſion, to raiſe the paſſions in this manner; but places them after every narrative, when the cauſe comprehends ſeveral of them; or after every part of the narrative, when it is too long; or, laſtly, after the proof of every fact, and it is that we call amplification. The invectives againſt Verres furniſh a great many examples of this kind.

The orator likewiſe moves the paſſions in the other parts of the oration, (*z*) but more conciſely, and with much greater caution and reſerve. (*a*) "Omnes hos af- "fectus.... aliæ quoque partes recipiunt ſed breviores." And this is what Anthony obſerved with ſuch ſucceſs in his fine oration for Norbanus: "Ut tu illa omnia odio, "invidia, miſericordia miſcuiſti!" ſays Sulpicius, after he had run through and pointed out the whole ſeries, and all the ſeveral parts of the oration.

(*c*) "I wonder at thoſe, ſays Quintilian, who pre- "tend that the paſſions are not to be raiſed in nar- "ration. If they mean only by this, that we are "not to dwell long upon them, as is practiſed in "the peroration, they are in the right; for there "we muſt avoid prolixity. But I do not ſee the rea- "ſon why endeavours ſhould not be uſed to affect "the judges, while the orator is informing them of "the

(*x*) Horat. (*y*) Quint. l. 6. c. 7.
(*z*) Deguſtanda hæc (miſeratio) prœmio, non conſumenda. Q. l. 4. c. 1. (*a*) Ibid.
(*b*) Cic. lib. de Orat. n. 203 (*c*) Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

" the ſtate of the caſe; ſince, if we have then been able " to inſpire them with ſentiments of anger or compaſſion, " they will be much better diſpoſed to receive and reliſh " the proofs. (*d*) Cicero uſed this method in deſcribing " the puniſhment of a (*e*) Roman citizen, and in relating, " in another place, the cruelty of Verres to Philodamus." *Quid? Philodami caſum nonne* per totam expoſitionem *incendit invidia?* (words that ſhew the whole narration is moving and pathetic) " Indeed, (*f*) to wait till the end of " the oration, in order to draw compaſſion for things " which we had related with dry eyes, is a little too " late." A relation of grave and moving ſubjects would be very imperfect, if it were not lively and paſſionate.

(*g*) The paſſage relating to Gavius's puniſhment in the laſt invective againſt Verres, would alone be ſufficient to juſtify the rules we have now laid down. (*h*) After Cicero had prepared for the fact by a kind of exordium which is very vehement, (*i*) and related the manner of, and the reaſon why, Gavius was carried to Meſſina before (*k*) Verres, he comes to the deſcription of the puniſhment. He inſiſts at firſt upon theſe two circumſtances, *viz.* whipping a Roman citizen in the middle of the forum at Meſſina, and fixing him on a croſs. Theſe circumſtances are not related coldly, or without paſſion, but after a very lively and moving manner: " Cædebatur virgis in " medio foro Meſſanæ civis Romanus, judices, cùm in- " tereo nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia illius miſeri inter " dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur, niſi hæc: " *civis Romanus ſum.* Hac ſe commemoratione civitatis " omnia verba depulſurum, cruciatumque à corpore de- " jecturum arbitrabatur. Is non modò hoc non perfecit, " ut virgarum vim deprecaretur: ſed, cùm imploraret " ſæpius, uſurparetque nomen civitatis, crux, crux in-

" quam,

(*d*) Verr. 7. n. 171. (*e*) Verr. 3. n. 76.
(*f*) Serum eſt advocare his rebus affectum, quas ſecurus narraveris.
(*g*) N. 157, 171. (*h*) N. 157, 158.
(*i*) N. 159. (*k*) N. 160. 161.

" quam, infelici et ærumnoſo, qui nunquam iſtam " poteſtatem viderat, comparabatur."

This narrative, which is very pathetic in itſelf, is followed by the amplification, (*l*) in which Cicero, with his uſual eloquence, diſplays all the indignity of this ill-uſage of Gavius. 'O nomen dulce libertatis! O 'jus eximium noſtræ civitatis! &c.'

(*m*) He relates one of the laſt circumſtances of the execution, and reproaches Verres with having induſtriouſly made choice, for putting a Roman citizen to death, of a place, from whence the unhappy wretch might, as he was dying, ſee Italy from the top of the gallows: 'Ut ille, qui ſe civem Romanum diceret, ex 'cruce Italiam cernere, ac domum ſuam proſpicere 'poſſet.' This thought, which is very moving, though expreſſed in two lines, is immediately after enlarged and explained. 'Italiæ conſpectus ad eam rem ab iſto elec-'tus eſt, ut ille in dolore cruciatuque moriens, peran-'guſto freto diviſa ſervitutis ac libertatis jura cognoſ-'ceret; Italia autem alumnum ſuum extremo ſummo-'que ſupplicio affectum videret.'

(*n*) The amplification follows of courſe; and it repreſents that circumſtance in the moſt glaring light poſſible. 'Facinus eſt vinciri civem Romanum, &c.'

(*o*) In fine, Cicero concludes all this paſſage with a figure equally bold and pathetic; and by a laſt reflection which affects all the citizens, and ſeems to be a kind of epilogue, by ſaying that if he ſhould ſpeak in a deſart, the hardeſt rocks would be moved with the relation of ſo unworthy a treatment. How much more reaſon then have the ſenators and judges to be affected, who, by their condition and ſtations, are the protectors of the laws, and defenders of the Roman liberty? 'Si 'in aliqua deſertiſſima ſolitudine ad ſaxa et ſcopulos 'hæc conqueri et deplorare vellem, tamen omnia muta 'atque

(*l*) N. 161, 167.
(*m*) N. 168.
(*n*) N. 166.
(*o*) N. 170, 171.

' atque inanima tanta et tam indigna rerum atrocitate ' commoverentur, &c.'

This is a perfect model of the manner how a narration may be vehement, either in the relation itſelf, or by the reflections which follow it.

[*p*] A kind of chance furniſhed Craſſus inſtantaneouſly with a very lively and vehement turn of eloquence. Cicero has preſerved it in his ſecond book *de Oratore*. Whilſt Craſſus was pleading againſt Brutus, the funeral of a Roman lady, who was related to the latter, came into the forum, where 'tis known that orators uſed to harangue. Upon this, he diſcontinued his oration, and ſays to Brutus: " What news would you have this lady " carry to your father? What would you have her ſay " to thoſe famous Romans, whoſe images are carried " with this funeral; to your anceſtors, to that Brutus " who delivered the people from kingly government? " What ſhall ſhe tell them you are employed in? " Upon what celebrated action, what virtue, on what " kind of glory ſhall ſhe tell them you value yourſelf?" And after he had made a long catalogue of all his faults: " Can you ſtill, ſays he, after all this, bear the light of " the ſun? ſhew yourſelf in the city? appear before " your fellow-citizens? Ought not the very ſight of " this corpſe and theſe images, which ſeem to reproach " you with all your extravagancies, to fill you with " fear and horror?"

Sometimes

(*p*) Quas tragœdias egit idem (Craſſus) cum caſu in eadem cauſa eum funere efferretur anus Junia! Prô, Dii immortales, quæ fuit illa, quanta vis? quam inexpectata? quam repentina? cum, conjectis oculis, geſtu omni imminenti, ſumma gravitate et celeritate verborum: Brute, quid ſedes? Quid illam anum patri nunciare vis tuo? quid illis omnibus, quorum imagines duci vides? quid majoribus tuis? quid L. Bruto, qui hunc populum dominatu regio liberavit? quid te facere? cui rei, cui gloriæ, cui virtuti ſtudere? Patrimonione augendo, &c. Tu lucem aſpicere audes? tu hos intueri? Tu in foro, tu in urbe, tu in civium eſſe conſpectu? tu illam mortuam, tu imagines ipſas non perhorreſcis? 2 de Orat. n. 225, 226.

Sometimes only a turn or a ſentiment thrown into a ſpeech produced this effect. Cicero in the ſhort narrative he made in pleading for Ligarius, might according to Quintilian's obſervation, be ſatisfied with ſaying: (*q*) "Tum Ligarius nullo ſe implicari negotio paſſus "eſt." (*r*) But he joins an image to it, which makes the narrative more probable and moving. "Tum "Ligarius domum ſpectans, et ad ſuos redire cupiens, "nullo ſe implicari negotio paſſus eſt."

(*s*) Virgil, in leſs than a ſingle verſe, gives a very moving deſcription of the death of a young man, who had left Argos, the place of his birth, in order to attach himſelf to Evander,

Et dulces moriens reminiſcitur Argos.

(*t*) This tender regard of a dying young man for his country, which he ſhould never ſee more, and melancholy remembrance of what was moſt delightful and dear to him in the world, form a beautiful picture in three words: *dulces——reminiſcitur——moriens.*

Theſe paſſages are very moving, becauſe the images they expreſs, awaken the ſentiments of love and tenderneſs for one's country, which every man bears in his heart; and they have a nearer relation to that kind of emotions we are going to ſpeak of.

(*u*) Beſides this firſt ſpecies of the ſtrongeſt and moſt violent paſſions, which the rhetoricians call πάθος, there is another ſort they call ἦθος, which conſiſts in ſofter and more inſinuating ſentiments, and yet are not therefore leſs moving or lively; (*x*) the effect of which

(*q*) Pro Ligar. n. 3.

(*r*) Ita, quod exponebat, et ratione fecit credibile, et affectus quoque implevit. Quint. l. 4. c. 2. (*s*) Æneid. l. 10. v. 782.

(*t*) Quid? Non idem poeta penitus ultimi fati cepit imaginem, ut diceret, *Et dulces moriens reminiſcitur Argos?* Ibid.

(*u*) Affectus igitur hos concitatos, illos mites atque compoſitos eſſe dixerunt; in altero vehementer commotos, in altero lenes: denique hos imperare, illos perſuadere: hos ad perturbationem, illos ad benevolentiam prævalere. Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

(*x*) Ἦθος id erit, quod ante omnia bonitate commendabitur: non ſolum

which is not to overthrow and carry away every thing, as it were, by main force; but to affect and ſoften, by inſinuating itſelf gently into the moſt inward receſſes of the auditors hearts. Theſe paſſions are natural to thoſe who are united in ſome ſtrict union; a prince and his ſubjects, a father and his children, a tutor and his pupils, a benefactor, and thoſe who receive the effects of his beneficence. Thoſe paſſions conſiſt, with ſuperiors who have been injured, in a certain character of mildneſs, goodneſs, humanity, and patience, which is without gall and bitterneſs; can bear injuries, and forget them, and which cannot reſiſt prayers and tears: and with the culpable, in a readineſs in being made ſenſible of their faults, acknowledging them, teſtifying their grief for them, humbling and ſubmitting themſelves, and giving all the ſatisfaction that can be deſired. All this muſt be done after a plain and natural

ſolum mite ac placidum, ſed plerumque blandum et humanum, et audientibus amabile aque jucundum. In quo exprimendo ſumma virtus ea eſt, ut fluere omnia ex natura rerum hominumque videantur quo mores dicentes ex oratione pelluceant, et quodammodo agnoſcantur. Quod eſt ſine dubio inter conjunctas maxime perſonas, quoties perferimus, ignoſcimus, ſatisfacimus, monemus, procul ab ira, procul ab odio.——Hoc omne bonum et comem virum poſcit. Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

Duo ſunt, quæ bene tractata ab oratore admirabilem eloquentiam faciunt: quorum alterum eſt quod Græci ἠθικὸν vocant, ad naturam, et ad mores, et ad omnem vitæ conſuetudinem accommadatum: alterum quod iidem παθητικὸν nominant, quo perturbantur animi et concitantur, in quo uno regnat oratio. Illud ſuperius come, jucundum, ad benevolentiam conciliandam comparatum; hoc, vehemens, incenſum, incitatum, quo cauſæ eripiuntur: quod cum rapide fertur, ſuſtineri nullo pacto poteſt. Orat. n. 128.

Non ſemper fortis oratio quæritur, ſed ſæpe placida, ſummiſſa, lenis, quæ maxime commendat reos.——Horum igitur exprimere mores oratione, juſtos, integros, religioſos, timidos, perferentes injuriarum, mirum quiddam valet: et hoc vel in principiis, vel in re narranda, vel in perorando, tantam habet vim, ſi eſt ſuaviter et cum ſenſu tractatum, ut ſæpe plus quam cauſa valeat. Tantum autem efficitur ſenſu quodam ac ratione dicendi, ut quaſi mores orationis effingat oratio. Genere enim quodam ſententiarum, et genere verborum, adhibita etiam actione leni, facilitateque ſignificandi, efficitur ut probi, ut beni morati, ut boni viri eſſe videantur. 2 de Orat. n. 183, 184.

tural manner, without ſtudy and affectation; the air, the outward behaviour, the geſture, tone of voice, ſtile, and every thing, muſt breathe ſomething inexpreſſibly ſoft and tender, which proceeds from the heart, and goes directly to it. The manners of the perſon who ſpeaks, muſt ſhew themſelves in his diſcourſe without his obſerving it. 'Tis well known, that nothing is more amiable than ſuch a character, not only for eloquence, but in the ordinary commerce of life; and we cannot prompt youth too much to be attentive to it, to ſtudy and imitate it. (*x*) We find a beautiful example of this in a homily of St. John Chryſoſtom to the people of Antioch. As this paſſage is very eloquent, and very fit to form the taſte of youth, ſuffer me to expatiate a little more upon it, than perhaps the matter I am now diſcuſſing requires; and to make a kind of an analyſis and epitome of it.

The emperor Theodoſius had ſent ſome officers and ſoldiers to Antioch, in order to puniſh that rebellious city for a ſedition, in which his own ſtatues and thoſe of his deceaſed conſort Flaccilla were thrown down. Flavian, biſhop of Antioch, notwithſtanding the inclemency of the ſeaſon, notwithſtanding his very advanced age, and though his ſiſter was dying when he left her, ſet out immediately to implore that prince's clemency in favour of his people. Being come to the palace, and admitted into the emperor's preſence, he no ſooner perceived that prince, but he ſtopped at a diſtance, with downcaſt eyes, ſhedding tears, covering his face, and ſtanding ſilent as though himſelf had been guilty. This is an artful exordium, and this ſilence is infinitely more eloquent than all the expreſſions he could uſe. And indeed St. Chryſoſtom obſerves, that by this mournful and pathetic exterior, his deſign was to prepare the way for his oration, and to inſinuate himſelf into the emperor's heart inſenſibly, in order that ſentiments of lenity and compaſſion, which

(*x*) Homil. 20.

which his cauſe required, might ſucceed to thoſe of anger and vengeance.

The emperor, ſeeing him in this condition, did not employ any harſh reproaches, which Flavian might naturally expect. He did not ſay to him, What! are you to come to crave pardon for rebels, for ungrateful wretches, for a people unworthy of life, and who merit the ſevereſt puniſhments? But aſſuming a ſoft tone of voice, he made a long enumeration of all the good offices he had done the city of Antioch; and, upon mentioning every one of thoſe favours, he adds: Is this the acknowledgment I was to expect? What cauſe of complaint had its citizens againſt me? What injury had I done them? But why ſhould they extend their inſolence even to the dead? Had they received any wrong from them? What tenderneſs did I not ſhew for their city? Is it not notorious, that I loved it more than my own country, and that it gave me the greateſt pleaſure to think I ſhould ſoon be in a condition of taking a journey to ſee it?

Then the holy biſhop, being unable to bear ſuch moving reproaches any longer, ſays with deep ſighs: It is true, Sir, the goodneſs you have vouchſafed us, could not be carried higher, which enhances our crime and our grief: whatever puniſhment you may inflict upon us, it will ſtill fall ſhort of what we deſerve. Alas! our preſent condition is no common degree of puniſhment; to have the whole earth know our ingratitude!

If the barbarians had demoliſhed our city, it would ſtill have had a reſource and ſome hopes, whilſt it had you for a protector. But to whom ſhall it now have recourſe, ſince it has made itſelf unworthy of your protection?

The envy of the devil, jealous of her happineſs, has plunged her into this abyſs of evils, out of which you alone can extricate her. I dare ſay it, Sir, it is your very affection that has brought them upon us, by exciting the jealouſy of that wicked ſpirit againſt us.

us. But, like God himſelf, you may draw infinite good out of the evil which Satan intended againſt us.

Your clemency on this occaſion will be more honourable to you than the moſt celebrated victories. Your ſtatues have been thrown down. If you pardon this crime, we will raiſe others in your honour, not of marble or braſs, which time deſtroys, but ſuch as will exiſt eternally in the hearts of all thoſe who ſhall hear of this action.

He afterwards propoſed the example of Conſtantine to him, who being importuned by his courtiers to diſplay his vengeance on ſome ſeditious people that had diſfigured his ſtatues, by throwing ſtones at them, did nothing more than ſtroke his face with his hand, and told them ſmiling, that he did not feel himſelf hurt.

He ſets before him his own clemency and puts him in mind of one of his own laws, in which, after having ordered the priſons to be opened, and the criminals to be pardoned at the feaſt of Eaſter, he added this memorable ſaying; 'Would to God I were able in the ſame manner 'to open the graves, and reſtore the dead to life!' That time is come, Sir, you can now do it, &c.

He makes the honour of religion concerned in this affair. All the Jews and heathens, ſays he, have their eyes upon you, and are waiting for the ſentence you will pronounce. If it is favourable to us they will be filled with admiration, and cry out, Surely the God of the Chriſtians muſt be very powerful! He checks the anger of thoſe who acknowledge no maſter upon earth, and can transform men into angels.

After he had anſwered the objection that might be made with regard to the unhappy conſequences which were to be feared, if this crime ſhould eſcape with impunity; and likewiſe demonſtrated, that Theodoſius, by ſuch a rare example of clemency, might edify the whole earth, and inſtruct all future ages, he proceeds thus:

It

It will be infinitely glorious for you, Sir, to have granted this pardon at the requeſt of a miniſter of the Lord; and mankind will ſee, that, without conſidering the unworthineſs of the ambaſſador, you reſpected nothing in him but the power of the Maſter who ſent him.

For it is not only in the name of the inhabitants of Antioch that I appear in this place; I am come from the ſovereign Lord of men and angels, to declare to you, that if you pardon men their faults, the heavenly Father will pardon yours. Call to mind, great prince, that tremendous day, when you will appear before the King of kings, to give an account of your actions. You are going to pronounce your own ſentence. Other ambaſſadors uſed to diſplay magnificent preſents before the princes to whom they were ſent: as for me, I offer nothing to your majeſty but the holy book of the goſpels; and I dare exhort you to imitate your Maſter, who does good every day to thoſe who inſult him.

He at length concludes his diſcourſe, by aſſuring the emperor, that if he refuſed that unfortunate city the pardon ſhe ſued for, he would never return to it, nor ever conſider that city as his country, which the mildeſt prince upon earth looks upon with indignation, and could not prevail with himſelf to pardon.

Theodoſius was not able to reſiſt the force of this ſpeech. He could ſcarce ſuppreſs his tears, and diſſembling the emotion he was in, as much as poſſible, he ſpoke theſe few words to the patriarch: If Jeſus Chriſt, God as he is, was willing to pardon the men who crucified him, ought I to make any difficulty to pardon my ſubjects who have offended me, I, who am but a mortal man like them, and a ſervant of the ſame Maſter? Upon this, Flavian proſtrated himſelf, wiſhing him all the proſperity he deſerved for this noble action. And as that prelate expreſſed a deſire of paſſing the feaſt of Eaſter at Conſtantinople, Go, father, ſays Theodoſius, embracing him, and do not delay

delay one moment the conſolation which your people will receive by your return, and the aſſurances you will give of the pardon I grant them. I know they are ſtill grieved and afraid. Go then, and carry the pardon of their crime for the feaſt of Eaſter. Pray that God may bleſs my arms; and be aſſured, that after this war I will go in perſon, and comfort the city of Antioch.

The holy prelate ſet out immediately; and to haſten the joy of the citizens, he diſpatched a more expeditious courier than himſelf, who freed the city from its uneaſineſs and alarms.

I once more beg pardon for the length of this kind of digreſſion. I imagined, that the extract of this eloquent homily might be as uſeful to youth, as any paſſage in profane authors. There would be room for many reflections, eſpecially on two characters, which, though ſeemingly incompatible, are united, however, in Flavian's oration; the humility and proſtrate ſubmiſſion of a ſuppliant, with the magnificence and greatneſs of a biſhop, but which are ſo modified, that they mutually ſupport each other. We at firſt behold the biſhop trembling, intreating, and, as it were, lying down at the emperor's feet. But afterwards, towards the end of the diſcourſe, he appears inveſted with all the ſplendor and majeſty of the Lord, whoſe miniſter he is. He commands, he threatens, he intimidates; but ſtill humble in his elevation. But I will content myſelf with the reflection which ariſes naturally from the ſubject that gave me occaſion to relate this ſtory. In my opinion, theſe two diſcourſes of Flavian and Theodoſius may be propoſed as an excellent model in this ſpecies of mild and tender paſſions. I do not pretend thereby to exclude the ſtrong and violent ones with which they are ſometimes blended; but, if I am not miſtaken, the former are predominant.

SECT. III.

Of the ELOQUENCE *of the* BAR.

THE rules I have hitherto given upon eloquence, being for the moſt part borrowed from Cicero and Quintilian, who applied themſelves chiefly in forming orators for the bar, might be ſufficient for ſuch young gentlemen as are deſigned for that honourable profeſſion. I thought however that I was obliged to add ſome more particular reflections, which may ſerve them as guides, to point out to them the paths they are to follow. I ſhall firſt examine what models muſt be propoſed to form the ſtile ſuitable to the bar, and will afterwards ſpeak of the means which youth may employ, to prepare themſelves for pleading. And I ſhall conclude with collecting ſome of Quintilian's fineſt obſervations upon the manners and character of pleaders.

ARTICLE I.

Of the MODELS *of* ELOQUENCE *proper for the* BAR.

HAD we the harangues and pleadings of the great number of able orators, who for ſome years have made the French bar ſo famous, and of thoſe who ſtill appear at it with ſo much luſtre, we ſhould be able to find in them certain rules and perfect models of eloquence. But the few performances we have of this kind, oblige us to have recourſe to the ſource itſelf; and to ſearch in Athens and Rome for thoſe things which the modeſty of our orators (perhaps exceſſive in this reſpect) does not permit us to find at home.

Demoſthenes and Cicero, by the conſent of all ages and of all the learned, have been the moſt diſtinguiſhed for the eloquence of the bar; and conſequently, their ſtile may be propoſed to youth, as a model they may ſafely imitate. It would be neceſſary, for that purpoſe, to make them well acquainted with it, to be careful in obſerving the character, and to make them ſenſible of the differences in it; but this cannot be done without reading

reading and examining their works. Thoſe of Cicero are in every one's hands, and therefore well enough known. But 'tis not ſo with Demoſthenes's orations; and, in an age ſo learned and polite as ours, it muſt ſeem aſtoniſhing, that ſince Greece has been always conſidered as the firſt and moſt perfect ſchool of eloquence and good taſte, we ſhould be ſo careleſs, eſpecially with regard to the bar, in conſulting the great maſters ſhe has given us in that kind; and (*y*) that in caſe it was not thought neceſſary to beſtow much time upon their excellent leſſons, we ſhould not, at leaſt, have the curioſity to take but a curſory view of them; and hear them, as it were, at a diſtance, in order to examine ourſelves if it be true, that the eloquence of thoſe famous orators is as admirable as it is declared to be, and if it fully anſwers the reputation they have acquired.

In order to enable young people, and thoſe who have not ſtudied Greek, to form ſome idea of Demoſthenes's ſtile, I ſhall here tranſcribe ſeveral paſſages from his orations, which indeed will not be ſufficient to exhibit that great orator in the glorious light he ought to be ſhewn, nor perhaps to give models of his eloquence in all its kinds; but they will contribute at leaſt to diſplay ſome part of him, and his principal characteriſtics. I ſhall add to this, ſome paſſages from the harangue which Æſchines, his competitor and rival, pronounced againſt him, and borrow M. Tourreil's tranſlation; I mean the laſt, which is much more laboured, and more correct than the former ones. I ſhall however ſometimes take the liberty to make a few ſmall alterations, becauſe on one hand, there are a great number of low and trivial (*z*)

(*y*) Ego idem exiſtimavi pecudis eſſe, non hominis, cum tantas res Græci ſuſciperent, profiterentur, agerent——non admovere aurem, nec ſi palam audire eos non auderes, ne minueres apud tuos cives auctoritatem tuam, ſubauſcultando tamen excipere voces eorum, et procul quid narrarent, attendere. 1. de Orat. n. 153.

(*z*) Ce que nous demandons tous et à cor et à cri.——Le ſoin qu'ils ont de vous corner aux oreilles.——Si vous continuex à fainéanter.——Vous

expreſſions in it, and on the other, the ſtile is ſometimes too ſwelling and bombaſtic; (*a*) faults directly contrary to the character of Demoſthenes, whoſe eloquence was at the ſame time very ſimple and very magnificent. M. de Maucroy has tranſlated ſome of his orations. His verſion, though leſs correct in ſome paſſages, ſeems to me more agreeable to the genius of the Greek orator. I partly make uſe of it in the firſt extract I here give, which is taken from the firſt Philippic.

EXTRACTS

vous comportez au rebours de tous les autres hommes.——Vous ne ceſſez de m'aſſaſſiner de clabauderies éternelles.——Ils vous eſcamoteront les dix talens.—Vous amuſer de fariboles.—Il ſe ménagea un prompt rapatriement.——Que ſi le cœur vous en dit, je vous cede la tribune.——Mais tout compté, tout rabatu.——Non, en dûſſiez-vous crever à force de l'aſſurer fauſſement.——Vous vomiſſez des charetées d'injures.——

I relate theſe few examples, from amongſt many others, in order to caution thoſe who may read this tranſlation, in other reſpects a very valuable performance, not to impute to the Greek orator, theſe and ſuch like defects in expreſſion.

(*a*) *I ſhall quote but one place, taken from the third Philippic.* De là il arrive, que dans vos aſſemblées, au bruit flateur d'une adulation continuelle, vous vous endormez tranquillement entre les bras de la volupté: mais que dans les conjonctures et dans les évènemens vous courez les derniers périls. *The original of the firſt part, which alone admits of any difficulty, runs thus:* εἰθ ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι πάνλα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν. *Wolfius tranſlates it in this manner:* Unde id conſequimini, ut in concionibus faſtidiatis, aſſentationibus deliniti, et omnia, quæ voluptati ſunt, audiatis. *This is the true ſenſe of the words, and is accordingly followed by M. Maucroy.* Vous vous rendez difficiles dans vos aſſemblées: vous voulez y être flatés et qu'on ne vous tienne que des propos agréables. Cependant cette delicateſſe vous a conduits ſur le bord du précipice. *What has deceived M. Tourreil, is the word* τρυφᾶν, *which is commonly rendered by* deliciis abundare, diffluere, in deliciis vivere. *Although it would bear this ſenſe here, he ought not to have expreſſed it by theſe pompous terms:* vous vous endormez tranquillement entre les bras de la volupté: *which joined to what goes before,* au bruit flateur d'une adulation continuelle, *forms a ſtile quite oppoſite to that of Demoſthenes, whoſe manly nervous eloquence does not admit of ſuch ornaments. Luxury and the love of pleaſure were not then the character of the Athenians; and beſides, what connection could they have with the public aſſemblies? It is much more natural, that the Athenians, puffed up by the continual encomiums their orators made them, of their great power, their ſuperior merit, the exploits of their anceſtors, and, long accuſtomed to ſuch flatteries, did on one hand look big in their aſſemblies, and aſſume haughty and diſdainful airs towards an enemy whom they deſpiſed; though on the other, they were arrived at that degree of delicacy, that they would not ſuffer their orators to tell them the truth. For I think that* τρυφᾶν *may admit of a twofold ſenſe in this place.*

EXTRACTS

FROM

DEMOSTHENES AND ÆSCHINES.

FROM THE

FIRST PHILIPPIC OF DEMOSTHENES.

M. Tourreil places this harangue at the head of the reſt.

DEMOSTHENES, in this oration, animates the Athenians with hopes of better ſucceſs hereafter in the war againſt Philip, in caſe they will follow his example, by applying themſelves ſeriouſly to the management of their affairs.

" If you reſolve, ſays he, to imitate Philip, which " you have not done hitherto; if every one will act " with ſincerity for the public good; the wealthy by " contributing part of their eſtates, and the young men " by their ſwords; in a word, if you will depend on " yourſelves only, and ſuppreſs that indolent diſpoſition " which ties up your hands, in expectation of ſome " foreign ſuccours; you then will ſoon, by the aſſiſt- " ance of the gods, retrieve your loſſes, and atone for " your faults, and will be revenged of your enemies. " For, do not think, gentlemen, that Philip is a god " who enjoys immutable felicity. He is dreaded, " hated, and envied by thoſe who are beſt affected to " his intereſt; and indeed, we muſt preſume they have " like paſſions, with the reſt of mankind. But all theſe " ſentiments ſeem at preſent extinguiſhed, and that be- " cauſe your ſlow and indolent conduct gives them no " opportunity of exerting themſelves; and it is to this " you muſt apply a remedy.

" For

" For obſerve, gentlemen, the low condition to " which you are reduced, and to what a height this " man's inſolence is riſen. He will not allow you the " liberty of determining for peace or war. He threat- " ens you; he ſpeaks, as it is ſaid, with an arrogant " and haughty tone: he is not ſatisfied with his former " conqueſts, but is every day acquiring more; and " whilſt you are dilatory and inactive, he ſurrounds and " inveſts you on all ſides.

" When, gentlemen, when will you act as you ought " to do? What event do you wait for? What neceſſi- " ty muſt compel you to it? Alas! is there not ne- " ceſſity ſufficient at this very time? For, in my opi- " nion, none is more urgent to a free people, than " when they are ſurrounded with ſhame and ignominy. " Will you for ever do nothing but walk up and down " the city, aſking one another what news? What " news! Is there any thing more new, than to ſee a " man of Macedonia become maſter of the Athenians, " and give laws to all Greece? Is Philip dead, ſays " one? No, replies another, he is only ſick. Whether " he be ſick or dead, what is that to the purpoſe; ſince, " were he no more, you would ſoon raiſe up another " Philip by your bad conduct? for his grandeur is " much more owing to your indolence, than to his " own valour."

EXTRACT *from the* SECOND OLYNTHIAN.

It is generally ranked the THIRD.

Demoſthenes compares the preſent condition of the Athenians to the glory of their anceſtors

" Our anceſtors, who were neither flattered by " their orators, nor loved by them, as you are by yours, " governed Greece during ſixty-five years, with the " unanimous conſent of the whole nation, put above " ten thouſand talents into the public treaſury, exer- " ciſed ſuch a power over the king of Macedon, as

" becomes

" becomes the Greeks to exerciſe over a Barbarian;
" raiſed great numbers of magnificent trophies for the
" victories they had gained in perſon both by ſea and
" land; they only of the whole race of men tranſmit-
" ted to their poſterity, by their great exploits, a glory
" ſuperior to envy itſelf. Such were theſe perſonages,
" at that time, with regard to Greece. Let us now
" examine their public and private life in thoſe days.
" Their magiſtrates erected many noble edifices for
" our uſe, and adorned our temples with ſuch a num-
" ber of rich ornaments, that none will be able to ſur-
" paſs them hereafter in magnificence. As to their
" private behaviour, they were ſo temperate, and ad-
" hered ſo ſtrictly to our ancient ſimplicity of manners,
" that if any of you happens to know the houſes in-
" habited once by Ariſtides, Miltiades, or any other
" of their illuſtrious contemporaries, he does not ſee
" them diſtinguiſhed by their ſplendour from the others
" in their neighbourhood. For, in the management of
" public affairs, they thought themſelves obliged to ag-
" grandize the ſtate, and not their families. By this
" means they arrived at the meridian of felicity, and
" that deſervedly, by faithfully conſulting the common
" good of Greece, an exemplary piety towards the
" gods, and living with their fellow-citizens in a modeſt
" equality. Such was the condition of your forefathers,
" under ſuch worthy leaders; but what is yours at this
" time under theſe ſoft-tongued orators who govern
" you? Does it bear the leaſt reſemblance to it? I
" will not inſiſt upon the parallel, though the ſubject
" opens a large field——

" But ſome will anſwer me, and ſay, Though things
" don't go on well abroad, they are in a much better
" condition at home. But what proofs can be brought
" of this? Why, ſome battlements have been whiten-
" ed, ſome high-ways repaired, and ſome aqueducts
" built; with ſuch like trifles. Caſt your eyes, I be-
" ſeech you, upon thoſe men, to whom you owe theſe

" rare

" rare monuments of their adminiſtration. Some of " them were raiſed from poverty to affluence, others " from obſcurity to ſplendour; ſome again have built " private houſes ſo magnificent, that they ſeem to inſult " even public edifices; and the lower the fortune of " the ſtate has ſunk, the higher has that of ſuch people " riſen. To what then muſt we impute this entire " ſubverſion of things in our days, and why is that " wonderful order, which was formerly ſeen in all " things, now changed for confuſion? The reaſon is " this: firſt, becauſe the people at that time, having " valour equal to military employments, kept the ma- " giſtrates dependent on them, and had the entire diſ- " poſal of all offices and favours; and every citizen " thought it a merit to receive honours, employments, " or good offices from the people. But now 'tis quite " otherwiſe; for the magiſtrates confer all favours, and " excerciſe a deſpotic power; while you, unhappy " people, enervated and deſpoiled both of treaſure and " alliances, are merely but as ſo many lacqueys, and in " a manner only a more numerous mob; and think " yourſelves doubly happy, if your magiſtrates do but " indulge you the two oboli for the theatre, and the " mean entertainment they provide for you upon re- " joicing days. And to complete your baſeneſs, you " laviſh the title of benefactors upon thoſe who give " you nothing but what is your own; and who, after " impriſoning you, as it were, within your own walls, " lay baits for, and ſoften you in this manner, with no " other view, but to prepare you for ſlavery."

EXTRACT *of the* HARANGUE *concerning the* CHERSONESUS.

The penſioners which Philip kept at Athens were perpetually endeavouring to find out expedient for diſpoſing the people to peace; but Demoſthenes diſcovers their treachery and artifices.

" I ſhall

" (*b*) I ſhall only obſerve, that as ſoon as this diſ-
" courſe againſt Philip was begun, one of thoſe mercena-
" ries roſe up and cried out, What a bleſſed thing is
" peace! How difficult to ſupport great armies! Our
" treaſury is in danger: and they amuſe you with ſuch
" diſcourſes, by which they cool your zeal, and give
" Philip an opportunity of effecting his purpoſes with-
" out difficulty. . . . But it is not you who need to be
" perſuaded to peace; you, I ſay, who being already
" but too much influenced that way, loiter here in indo-
" lence; 'tis that man who breathes nothing but war.
" . . . Beſides, we ought not to conſider what is employ-
" ed for our ſafety as a hardſhip, but that which we
" ſhall ſuffer in caſe we neglect to ſecure ourſelves in
" time. As to the ſquandering of the public monies,
" this muſt be remedied by propoſing the beſt means of
" preventing it for the future, and not by perſuading
" you to abandon entirely your own intereſt.

" As to myſelf, gentlemen, I am filled with indig-
" nation to ſee ſome of you make ſuch a noiſe about
" ſquandering the public funds, (which may be rectified
" by puniſhing the offenders in an exemplary manner)
" becauſe their private intereſt ſuffers by it; and not
" ſay one word, at the ſame time, of Philip, who plun-
" ders all Greece ſucceſſively, and that to your preju-
" dice. Whence can it proceed, gentlemen, that while
" Philip is diſplaying his banners in the face of the whole
" world, committing violences and ſeizing fortreſſes;
" none of theſe people has ever thought fit to ſay, that
" man acts unjuſtly, and commits hoſtilities? and that
" when you are adviſed not to ſuffer ſuch outrages, but
" to put a ſtop to them, theſe very people cry out im-
" mediately, that you are going to kindle the flames of a
" war which were extinguiſhed?

" What! ſhall we ſay again, that to adviſe you
" to defend yourſelves, is kindling a war? If that
" be

(*b*) Towards the end of the harangue.

to

" be the caſe, then there is nothing but ſlavery for you. " For there is no other medium, if we neglect on the " one hand to repel violence; and, on the other, the " enemy will not grant us a truce. Our danger too " differs very much from that of the other Greeks; for " Philip will not be barely ſatisfied with enſlaving " Athens, he will deſtroy it; for he knows very well, " you will never ſubmit to ſlavery; and that, though " you would do this, you never could, for command and " authority are habitual to you; and beſides, you will " be capable of giving him more trouble and oppoſition " than all the reſt of the Greeks united, whenever you " ſhall think fit to lay hold of any occaſion to throw off " the yoke. It muſt then be laid down as a certain " maxim, that our whole fortune is at ſtake, and that " you cannot too much abhor the mercenaries who " have ſold themſelves to this man; for it is not poſſi- " ble, no, it is not, to vanquiſh your foreign enemies, " till you have chaſtiſed your domeſtic foes, who are his " penſioners; ſo that, whilſt you will bulge againſt " thoſe as againſt ſo many rocks, you will never attempt " to act againſt the other, till it be too late."

From THE THIRD PHILIPPIC.

" Make this reflection, I beſeech you: you think " the privilege of ſaying any thing is ſo inherent in " every man who breathes the air of Athens, that you " ſuffer foreigners and ſlaves to deliver their thoughts " on every ſubject; inſomuch that ſervants are here " indulged a greater liberty in that particular than " citizens in ſome other commonwealths. 'Tis from " the *roſtra* only that the freedom of ſpeech is de- " nied. Hence it is that you are grown ſo unac- " countably haughty in your aſſemblies, and ſo diffi- " cult to be pleaſed. You would always be flatter- " ed in them, and hear nothing but what ſooths " you: and 'tis this pride and delicacy have brought

" you

"you to the brink of deſtruction. If then you remain "ſtill in the ſame diſpoſition, I have nothing to do but "to be ſilent. But if you can prevail with yourſelves "to liſten to what is for your advantage without flatte- "ry, I am ready to ſpeak. For notwithſtanding the de- "plorable condition of our affairs, and the ſeveral loſſes "we have ſuſtained through our neglect, they may yet "be retrieved, provided you determine to act as you "ought in duty.

"You know, that whatever the Greeks ſuffered from "the Lacedæmonians, or from us, they ſuffered by "thoſe who were Greeks as well as themſelves; ſo "that we may compare our faults to thoſe of a ſon, "who being born in a rich family, ſhould err againſt "ſome maxim of good œconomy. Such a ſon would "juſtly deſerve the reproachful name of a ſquanderer; "but it could not be juſtly aſſerted, that he had ſeized "upon another man's right, or that he was not the law- "ful heir. But if a ſlave, or a ſuppoſititious child would "ſeize an eſtate he had no manner of title to; juſt "heavens! would not ſuch an enormity raiſe the whole "world againſt him? and would not they cry out with "one voice, that it deſerved exemplary puniſhment? "But we do not conſider Philip and his preſent conduct "in that light. Philip, who, beſides his not being a "Greek, is no ways allied to the Greeks by any kind of "relation, and is not diſtinguiſhed even amongſt the "Barbarians by any thing but his being denominated "from the contemptible place whence he comes; and "being a wretched Macedonian by his birth, came into "the world in a corner whence we never buy even a "good ſlave. Notwithſtanding this, does he not treat "you with the utmoſt indignity? Is it not arrived at "its higheſt pitch? Not content, *&c.*"

The *extracts* which follow, being taken from the orations of Æſchines and Demoſthenes *de Corona*, it will be neceſſary to give the reader ſome idea of the ſubject. This, Cicero informs us of in his preamble

to

to thoſe two orations, when he tranſlated them; and this is the only fragment now remaining of that excellent work.

Demoſthenes was entruſted with the care of repairing the walls of Athens, which he accompliſhed with great honour and reputation, having contributed a great deal of his own fortune towards it. Cteſiphon decreed a crown of gold to him on that account; propoſed it ſhould be preſented in the open theatre in a general aſſembly of the people; and that the herald ſhould proclaim it was to reward the zeal and probity of that orator. Æſchines accuſed Cteſiphon, as having violated the laws by that decree. . . . " (*c*) So extraordinary a " conteſt raiſed the curioſity of all Greece: people ran " from all parts, and with reaſon too. What finer ſight " than to ſee two orators contending, each excelling in " his own way; formed with nature, made perfect by " art, and beſides, animated by a perſonal enmity to " each other?"

Extracts *of* Æschines's Harangue.

Æſchines, after having repreſented in the beginning of the exordium, the irregularities introduced in the commonwealth, and their pernicious tendency, proceeds thus:

" In ſuch a ſituation of affairs, and in ſuch diſorders, " of which you yourſelves are ſenſible; the only method " of ſaving the wrecks of the government, is, if I miſ- " take not, to allow full liberty to accuſe thoſe who have " invaded your laws. But if you ſhut them up, or ſuf- " fer others to do this, I propheſy that you will fall in- " ſenſibly, and that very ſoon, under a tyrannical pow- " er. For you know, gentlemen, that government is " divided

(*c*) Ad hoc judicium concurſus dicitur è tota Græcia factus eſſe. Quid enim aut tam viſendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quam ſummorum oratorum in graviſſima cauſa, accurata et inimicitiis incenſa contentio? Cic de opt. gen. Orat. N. 22.

" divided into three kinds; monarchy, oligarchy, and " democracy. As to the two former, they are governed " at the will and pleaſure of thoſe who reign in either; " whereas eſtabliſhed laws only reign in a popular ſtate. " That none of you therefore may be ignorant, but, on " the contrary, that every one may be entirely aſſured " that the day he aſcends the ſeat of juſtice, to examine " an accuſation upon the invaſion of the laws, that very " day he goes to give judgment upon his own indepen- " dence. And indeed, the legiſlator who is convinced, " that a free ſtate can ſupport itſelf no longer than the " laws govern, takes particular care to preſcribe this form " of an oath to judges. *I will judge according to the* " *laws*. The remembrance therefore of this, being deep- " ly implanted in your minds, muſt inſpire you with a " juſt abhorrence of any perſons whatſoever who dare to " tranſgreſs them by raſh decrees; and that, far from " ever looking upon a tranſgreſſion of this kind, as a " ſmall fault, you always conſider it as an enormous and " capital crime. Do not ſuffer then any one to make " you depart from ſo wiſe a principle. . . . But as, in " the army, every one of you would be aſhamed to quit " the poſt aſſigned him by the general; ſo, let every one " of you be this day aſhamed to abandon the poſt, which " the laws have given you in the commonwealth. What " poſt? that of protectors of the government.

This compariſon, which is very beautiful and noble in itſelf, has a peculiar grace in this place, preſenting, as it were, two faces to us; for at the ſame time that it affects the judges, it reflects ſtrongly on Demoſthenes's cowardice, againſt whom it points a ſatyrical ſtroke, which is the more delicate and malicious, the more remote it ſeems to be from all affectation. It is well known that he had abandoned his poſt, and fled at the battle of Cheronæa. This judicious obſervation was made by M. Tourreil.

" Muſt we, in your perſon (addreſſing himſelf to " Demoſthenes) crown the author of the public ca- " lamities,

" lamities, or muſt we deſtroy him? And indeed, what
" unexpected revolutions, what unthought of cataſ-
" trophes have we not ſeen in our days? ... The king
" of Perſia, that king who opened a paſſage through
" mount Athos; who bound the Helleſpont in chains,
" who was ſo imperious as to command the Greeks to
" acknowledge him ſovereign both of ſea and land; who
" in his letters and diſpatches preſumed to ſtile himſelf
" the ſovereign of the world from the riſing to the ſetting
" of the ſun; and who fights now, not to rule over the
" reſt of mankind, but to ſave his own life; do not we ſee
" thoſe very men, who ſignalized their zeal in the relief
" of Delphos, inveſted both with the glory, for which
" that powerful king was once ſo conſpicuous, and with
" the title of chief of the Greeks, againſt him? As
" to Thebes, which borders upon Attica, have we
" not ſeen it diſappear in one day from the midſt
" of Greece? ... And with regard to the unhap-
" py Lacedæmonians, what calamities have not be-
" fallen them, only for taking but a ſmall part of the
" ſpoils of the temple? They who formerly aſſumed a ſu-
" periority over Greece, are they not now going to ſend
" ambaſſadors to Alexander's court, to bear the name
" of hoſtages in his train, to become a ſpectacle of mi-
" ſery; to bow the knee before the monarch, ſubmit
" themſelves and their country to his mercy; and re-
" ceive ſuch laws as a conqueror, a conqueror they at-
" tacked firſt, ſhall think fit to preſcribe them? Athens
" itſelf, the common refuge of the Greeks; Athens,
" formerly peopled with ambaſſadors, who flocked to
" claim its almighty protection, is not this city now
" obliged to fight, not to obtain a ſuperiority over the
" Greeks, but to preſerve itſelf from deſtruction? Such
" are the misfortunes which Demoſthenes has brought up-
" on us, ſince his intermeddling with the adminiſtration...

" But you, who of all men are the moſt unfit to
" ſignalize yourſelves by great and memorable ac-
" tions, and at the ſame time the fitteſt to diſtinguiſh

" yourſelves

" yourſelves by raſh ſpeeches; dare you, and that in the " preſence of this auguſt aſſembly, aſſert, that we muſt " beſtow a crown, at your interceſſion, on the perſon " who has occaſioned all the public calamities? And if " this man ſhall preſume ſo far, will you ſuffer it, gen- " tlemen, and ſhall the memory of thoſe great men who " died in the field for their country, die with them? I " beg of you for a few moments, to convey yourſelves in " imagination from the roſtra to the theatre, and ima- " gine you ſee the herald advancing and proclaiming the " crown decreed to Demoſthenes. On which occaſion " do you think, that the relations of thoſe citizens, who " ſpilt their blood for you, ought to ſhed moſt tears; " either for the tragical fate of thoſe heroes which I " I ſhall repreſent to you by and by, or for the enormous " ingratitude of the Athenians? Do not lay open again " the deep and incurable wounds of the unhappy The- " bans, who through Demoſthenes are become fugitives, " and have been received by you into this city. But " ſince you were not preſent at their cataſtrophe, en- " deavour, at leaſt, to form ſome image of it, and repre- " ſent to yourſelves a city taken, walls levelled, houſes " reduced to aſhes, mothers and children dragged into " ſlavery; old men and women forced to be ſervants at " the end of their days; drowned in tears, imploring " your juſtice, breaking out into reproaches, not againſt " the actors, but againſt the authors of the cruel venge- " ance, which they felt; earneſtly preſſing you to be ſo " far from conferring any kind of reward upon the de- " ſtroyer of Greece, that you would preſerve yourſelves " from the curſe, the fatality inſeparable from his perſon.

" Imagine then, gentlemen, when he ſhall invite the " confidents and accomplices of his abject perfidy to " range themſelves around him, towards the cloſe of his " harangue; imagine then, gentlemen, on your ſide, " that you ſee the ancient benefactors of this common- " wealth drawn up in battle array, round this roſtra " where I am now ſpeaking, in order to repulſe that

" audacious

" audacious band. Imagine you hear Solon, who " ſtrengthened the popular government by ſuch excel- " lent laws; that philoſopher, that incomparable le- " giſlator, conjuring you with a gentleneſs and modeſty " becoming his character, not to ſet a higher value upon " Demoſthenes's oratorial flouriſhes, than upon your " oaths and your laws. Imagine you hear Ariſtides, who " made ſo exact and juſt a diviſion of the contributions " impoſed upon the Greeks for the common cauſe; that " ſage diſpenſer, who left no other inheritance to his " daughters, but the public gratitude, which was their " portion; imagine, I ſay, you hear him bitterly be- " wailing the outrageous manner in which we trample " upon juſtice, and ſpeaking to you in theſe words: " What! becauſe when Arthmius of Zelia, that Aſiatic, " who paſſed through Athens, where he even enjoyed " the rights of hoſpitality, brought gold from the Medes " into Greece, your anceſtors were going to ſend him " to the place of execution, and baniſhed him, not only " from their city, but from all the countries dependent " on them; and will not you bluſh to decree Demoſt- " henes, who has not indeed brought gold from " the Medes, but has received ſuch ſums of money " from all parts to betray you, and now enjoys the fruit " of his treaſures; will not you, I ſay, bluſh to decree " a crown of gold to Demoſthenes? Do you think that " Themiſtocles, and the heroes who were killed in the " battles of Marathon and Platea; do you think, the " very tombs of your anceſtors will not ſend forth groans, " if you crown a man who, by his own confeſſion, has " been for ever conſpiring with Barbarians to ruin " Greece?

" As to myſelf, O Earth! O Sun! O Virtue! and " you who are the ſprings of true diſcernment, lights, " both natural and acquired, by which we diſtinguiſh " good from evil, I call you to witneſs, that I have " uſed all my endeavours to relieve the ſtate, and to " plead her cauſe. I could have wiſhed my ſpeech

" had

" had been equal to the greatneſs and importance of the " ſubject; at leaſt, I can flatter myſelf with having " diſcharged my duty according to my abilities, if I " have not done it according to my wiſhes. Do you, " gentlemen, from the reaſons you have heard, and " thoſe which your wiſdom will ſuggeſt; do you pro- " nounce ſuch a judgment, as is conformable to ſtrict " juſtice, and the common good demands from you."

EXTRACTS *of* DEMOSTHENES'S HARANGUE *for* CTESIPHON.

" I begin with intreating all the gods and all the god- " deſſes, that they would inſpire you, gentlemen, in this " cauſe, with a benevolence towards me, proportionate " to my conſtant zeal for the commonwealth in general, " and for every one of you in particular: afterwards, " (which is of the utmoſt conſequence to your perſons, " your conſciences, and your honour) I crave of the " ſame deities, that they would fix you in the reſolu- " tion of conſulting upon the manner of hearing me, " not my accuſer, (for you could not do that without " partiality;) but your laws and your oaths, the form " of which, among other terms, (all dictated by juſtice) " is as follows: *Hear both parties equally*; which ob- " liges you to come with an unbiaſſed mind and heart " to the tribunal, and to allow each of the parties to " draw up his reaſons and proofs, in whatever manner " he ſhall think fit (*d*).

" Now, gentlemen, among the many diſadvantages " on my ſide in this cauſe, there are two particularly, " and two very terrible ones, which make my condi- " tion much worſe than his. The firſt is, that we run " very unequal riſks; for now I hazard much more " in loſing your good will, than he does, ſhould he " fail to make good the charge; ſince I am to.—But I " will not ſuffer one word to fall from me in the " beginning

(*d*) Æſchines pretended to point out the order which Demoſthenes was to obſerve in his pleading.

" beginning of my diſcourſe, that preſages any thing " ſiniſter. He, on the contrary, attacks me through " wantonneſs, and without any neceſſity for ſo doing. " The other diſadvantage I lie under, is, that all men " are naturally inclinable to hear an accuſer with plea- " ſure; while, on the other hand, they hear thoſe who " boaſt or magnify themſelves with indignation. He " therefore acts a part that pleaſes univerſally; where- " as almoſt every thing which falls to my lot, is what " generally makes every man an enemy. But if, on one " hand, the fear of incurring indignation, which is in- " ſeparable from ſelf-applauſe, ſhould oblige me to be " ſilent on my own actions; it will be thought that I " can neither refute him who reproaches me with " crimes, nor juſtify the perſon who decrees rewards " for me. On the other, if I ſhould diſcuſs the ſer- " vices I have done during my adminiſtration, I ſhall " be forced to ſpeak of myſelf frequently. I ſhall " therefore endeavour, in this dangerous dilemma, to " behave with all poſſible moderation; but whatever " the neceſſity of my own defence may extort from me, " this ought in juſtice to be imputed only to the ag- " greſſor, who voluntarily impoſed it upon me.

" But in ſpite of thoſe facts, inconteſtible, and cer- " tified, as it were, by the mouth of truth itſelf, Æſchines " has ſo far renounced all ſhame, that, not content to " proclaim me the author of ſuch a peace as he has " mentioned, he is ſo audacious as to tax me likewiſe " with preventing the commonwealth from concerting it " with the general aſſembly of the Greeks.—But did " you, O!— (what title ſhall I give you?) did you " betray the leaſt ſhadow of diſpleaſure againſt me, " when I broke the chords of that harmony in your " preſence, and diſpoſſeſſed the commonwealth of the " advantages of that confederacy, which you magnify " ſo much, with the loudeſt ſtrains of your theatrical " voice (*e*)? Did you aſcend the roſtrum? Did you " denounce

(*e*) Æſchines had been a comedian.

"denounce, or once explain thoſe crimes, with which "you are now pleaſed to charge me? Surely then if I "could have forgot my duty ſo far, as to ſell myſelf to "Philip, in order to exclude the Greeks from partici- "pating in that peace; you ought then to have exclaim- "ed, proteſted, and diſcovered my prevarications to thoſe "who now hear me; but you never did any thing of "this kind, nor did any perſon living hear you ſay one "ſyllable tending this way.—

"But if Philip was conſtantly depriving all ſtates, "without exception, of their honour, prerogatives, "liberty, or rather ſubverting as many commonwealths "as he could; did not you, gentlemen, form thoſe very "arguments which undoubtedly were the moſt glorious "to you, through your regard for my advice? Tell us, "Æſchines, how Athens ſhould have behaved in Philip's "ſight, when he ſet all engines at work, to eſtabliſh "his empire and tyranny over the Greeks? Or what "counſels and reſolutions ſhould I, who was the mi- "niſter, have propoſed; eſpecially in Athens? (for "the circumſtances of place require a particular atten- "tention): I, who was intimately ſenſible, that my "country had at all times, even till the day I firſt aſ- "cended the tribunal, perpetually fought for ſuperio- "rity, for honour and glory; and that it alone had, "through a noble emulation, ſacrificed more men and "money for the general good of the Greeks, than any "other of the Grecian ſtates had ever ſacrificed for "their own private advantage? I, who beſides ſaw this "ſame Philip, with whom we contended for ſovereignty "and empire; ſaw him, though covered with wounds, "his eye beat out, his collar-bone broke, his hand and "leg maimed, ſtill reſolved to plunge himſelf amidſt "dangers, and ready to give up to fortune whatever "other part of his body ſhe ſhould require, provided "he could live honourably and glorioufly with the re- "mainder? Now, certainly no man dares to ſay, that

"a bar-

" a barbarian educated in Pella (then a contemptible " and obſcure place) could poſſibly poſſeſs a ſoul haugh. " ty enough to deſire and undertake the conqueſt of " the Greeks: But for you, though Athenians, for you " who every day hear the virtue of your anceſtors diſ. " played, either by your orators in the roſtra, or by " your actors upon the ſtage; for you, I ſay, to carry " meanneſs of ſoul and cowardice ſo far, as to abandon " and make a voluntary ſurrender of the liberties of " Greece to Philip; no man living will ever be ſo auda- " cious as to make ſuch a ſtrange propoſal.

" Cenſure me, Æſchines, for the advice I gave; do " not aſperſe me for the event: for the ſupreme Being " unravels and terminates every thing at pleaſure; " whereas we muſt judge from the nature of the ad- " vice or opinions themſelves, of him who gives them. " If therefore Philip has been a conqueror, do not im- " pute it to me as a crime, ſince God diſpoſes of the " victory, and not I. But ſhew me what it is that I did " not purſue with an integrity, a vigilance, and an in- " defatigable activity, ſuperior to my ſtrength; ſhew " me, that I did not practiſe all the expedients which " human prudence could employ; that I did not inſpire " noble and neceſſary reſolutions, and ſuch as were wor- " thy of Athens; and after this gave a full ſcope to your " accuſations. But if a ſudden thunder-bolt or tempeſt " ſhould ſtrike you to the ground, gentlemen, and not " only you, but all the reſt of the Grecians, how can " this be helped? Muſt the innocent be ſacrificed? If " the owner of a veſſel had fitted it out with every " thing neceſſary, and provided to the utmoſt of his " power againſt the dangers of the ſea; and that a ſtorm " ſhould afterwards ariſe and break the maſts, would " any one in that caſe accuſe him with being the cauſe of " the ſhipwreck? But he would ſay, I did not command " the veſſel. Nor did I command the army: I did not " diſpoſe of fortune; on the contrary, it was fortune " diſpoſed of every thing.

" Since

"Since therefore he inſiſts ſo ſtrenuouſly upon events, "I am not afraid of advancing a kind of paradox. Let "none of us, in the name of Jupiter and the other gods, "be ſtartled at the apparent hyperbole, but let him ex- "amine equitably what I am going to ſay. For if all "the Athenians had diſcovered future events by a pro- "phetic ſpirit; that all had foreſeen them, and that "you, Æſchines, who did not ſpeak a ſingle word, "had foretold and certified them with your thunder- "like voice: Athens, even in that caſe, ought not to "have changed its meaſures, had it ever ſo little regard "to its glory, its anceſtors, or the judgment of poſ- "terity. For now Athens ſeems, at moſt, to be fallen "from its greatneſs; a misfortune common to all "mortals, whenever it ſo pleaſes the ſupreme Being. "But a commonwealth, that thought itſelf at that "time worthy of a ſuperiority over all the reſt of the "Greeks, could not part with ſuch a right, without "incurring the juſt reproach of delivering them all up "to Philip: ſince in caſe Athens had quitted, without "a blow, a prerogative which our anceſtors had pur- "chaſed at all hazards; how would you, Æſchines, "have been covered with ſhame! For moſt certainly, "that ſhame could not have reflected either upon the "commonwealth or upon me. Great God! with "what eyes could we look upon this innumerable mul- "titude which come from all parts to Athens, if things "had been brought to the low ebb we now ſee them "at, by our fault or wrong management; had we "choſen Philip as the chief and arbiter of all Greece; "had we ſuffered others to hazard a battle without us, "in order to prevent ſuch a calamity; eſpecially ſince "we call ourſelves the inhabitants of a city, which choſe "at all times, rather to brave glorious dangers, than "enjoy an ignominious ſecurity. For what Greek, "what Barbarian, does not know, that the Thebans, "and before them the Lacedemonians, when arrived at "the meridian of power, and, laſtly, the Perſian

"king,

" king, would have willingly granted the common-
" wealth, not only the enjoyment of its own poſſeſſi-
" ons, but likewiſe every thing it could deſire, pro-
" vided it could have deſcended to ſubmit, and ſuffer
" any other to govern Greece? But ſuch ſentiments
" could not be admitted by Athenians, (as appeared on
" thoſe occaſions) either as hereditary, ſupportable, or
" natural. And ſince the firſt foundation of Athens,
" none could ever force it to make any abject ſubmiſſi-
" ons to tyrannical power, though ſuperior in ſtrength;
" nor to gain a baſe ſecurity by ſervile conceſſions. On
" the contrary, as Athens was in immemorial poſſeſſion
" of fighting for ſovereignty, for honour and for glory;
" ſo it has at all times braved the greateſt dangers.—If
" therefore I ſhould attempt to inſinuate, that my
" counſels determined you to think like worthy deſcend-
" ants of your predeceſſors, every one might tax me
" juſtly with arrogance. But I declare in this place,
" that if you formed ſuch reſolutions, the glory of them
" is yours; and I own, that the commonwealth had
" great and magnanimous ſentiments long before my
" time. The only thing I can boaſt of, is, that I co-
" operated in every thing that fell to my ſhare in the
" miniſtry.

" By the way, gentlemen, a citizen naturally virtu-
" ous, (for when I ſpeak of myſelf, I make uſe of no
" other word, to avoid envy) poſſeſſes theſe two qua-
" lities: a ſteady and unſhaken courage in the exerciſe
" of authority, to ſupport the commonwealth in its ſu-
" periority; and a zeal that has been proof againſt
" every thing, in every conjuncture and particular ac-
" tion. For theſe ſentiments depend *(f)* upon us, being
" gift of nature; but as to force and power, thoſe we
" derive from other cauſes. Now certainly, that this
" zeal was never falſified in me, judge of it by my ac-
" tions. My zeal for you was never leſſoned on any
" occaſion, no, not when my head was demanded; nor
" when

(f) That was the doctrine of the Stoics.

" when I was delivered up to the Amphictyons, nor " when the greateſt efforts were made to ſtagger me with " threats, nor when endeavours were uſed to allure me " with promiſes, nor when theſe curſed wretches, like ſo " many wild beaſts, were let looſe upon me. As to the " government, no ſooner had I a ſhare in it, than I fol- " lowed the direct and juſt methods of preſerving the " ſtrength, glory and prerogatives of my country; aug- " menting them, and devoting myſelf entirely to that " ſtudy. Thus, when I find other powers proſper, I " am never ſeen walking in the Forum, with a ſerene " and contented aſpect, ſaluting people with my hand, " and telling good news with a congratulating voice to " thoſe who, I believe, will afterwards ſend it to Mace- " donia; nor am I ſeen trembling, ſighing, and with " down-caſt eyes, upon hearing the ſucceſs of the Athe- " nians, like thoſe impious wretches who defame the " commonwealth; as though they did not defame them- " ſelves by ſuch courſes. They have always their eye " abroad, and when they ſee any potentate taking ad- " vantage of our misfortunes, they magnify his ſuc- " ceſſes, and give out, that all endeavours ſhould be " uſed to eternize his victories.

" Immortal gods! let none of you hear ſuch vows as " theſe; but rather rectify the minds and hearts of ſuch " perverſe men. But if their inveterate malice is incu- " rable, purſue them both by ſea and land, and extir- " pate them totally. As to us Athenians; avert, as " ſoon as poſſible, the calamities which threaten us, " and grant us entire ſecurity."

The Success *of the two* Orations.

Æſchines loſt his cauſe, and was baniſhed for his raſh accuſation. He ſettled at Rhodes, and ſet up a ſchool of eloquence, which maintained its glory for ſeveral ages. He began his lectures with the two orations which had occaſioned his baniſhment. Great encomiums were given to his; but when that of Demoſthenes was read, the

the acclamations were redoubled. (*g*) And it was upon this occaſion he ſaid, (ſo laudable in an enemy and a rival) But how wonderful would you have found it, had you heard it from his own mouth?

I did not pretend, that the paſſages I have now borrowed from the harangues of Æſchines and Demoſthenes, could alone give a juſt idea of thoſe two great orators; for the moſt eſſential part of eloquence, and, as it were, the ſoul of it, muſt neceſſarily be wanting in extracts taken from the body of the entire work. We neither ſee plan, deſign, order or ſeries of the oration in thoſe extracts; nor the ſtrength, connexion or diſpoſition of the proofs; the marvellous art by which the orator ſometimes inſinuates himſelf gently into people's hearts; and ſometimes enters into a kind of violence, and makes himſelf abſolute maſter over them. Beſides, no tranſlation can give the Attic purity, eloquence and delicacy, of which the Greek language only is ſuſceptible, and which Demoſthenes had carried to the higheſt perfection. I had no other view in copying theſe extracts, but to enable ſuch readers as have not ſtudied Greek, to form ſome idea of the ſtile of thoſe two orators. The advantageous judgments which the beſt writers in all ages have given us of it, will likewiſe contribute to ſhew their character; and may perhaps inſpire us with the deſire of taking a nearer view of perſons of ſuch uncommon merit, of whom ſo many wonders are related. M. de Tourreil has collected ſeveral, ſome of which I ſhall relate in this place.

I.

The Judgments *of the* Ancients *on* Æschines *and* Demosthenes.

(*h*) Quintilian, whoſe opinion is no leſs clear than equitable, ſpeaks of them in this manner: "(*i*) A crowd "of

(*g*) Valer. Max. lib. 8. c. 20. (*h*) Lib. 10. c. 1.

(*i*) Sequitur oratorum ingens manus.——quorum longe princeps Demoſthenes, ac pene lex orandi fuit. Tanta vis in eo, tam denſa omnia,

" of orators aroſe afterwards, of whom Demoſthenes " was the chief; the ſtandard which every one muſt " (*k*) neceſſarily follow, who aſpires to true eloquence. " His ſtile is ſo ſtrong, ſo cloſe, and (*l*) nervous; 'tis " every where ſo juſt, ſo exactly conciſe, that there's " nothing too much or too little. Æſchines is more " diffuſive; he makes a greater figure, becauſe he is " not ſo cloſe: he diſcovers a greater fluſh of health, " but his ſinews are not ſo ſtrong and well compacted.

" (*m*) What diſtinguiſhes the eloquence of Demoſt- " henes, is the impetuoſity of the expreſſion, the " choice of words, and the beauty of the diſpoſition; " which being ſupported throughout, and accompanied " with force and ſweetneſs, keeps the attention of the " auditors perpetually fixed. Æſchines indeed is leſs " energetic; but he diſtinguiſhes himſelf by his dicti- " on, which he ſometimes adorns with the moſt noble " and magnificent figures; and ſometimes ſeaſons with " the moſt lively and ſtrong touches. We don't diſ- " cover any art or labour in them; a happy facility, " which nature only can beſtow, runs through the " whole. He is bright and ſolid; he enlarges and am- " plifies, but is often cloſe; ſo that his ſtile, which at " firſt ſeems only flowing and ſweet, diſcovers itſelf, up- " on a nearer view, to be vehement and emphatic, in " which Demoſthenes only ſurpaſſes him; ſo that Æſ- " chines juſtly claims the ſecond place among orators.

omnia, ita quibuſdam nervis intenta ſunt, tam nihil otioſum, is dicendi modus, ut nec quod deſit in eo, nec quod redundet, invenias. Plenior Æſchines, et magis fuſus, et grandiori ſimilis, quo minus ſtrictus eſt. Carnis tamen plus habet, lacertorum minus.

(*k*) Quintilian did not venture to ſay abſolutely, that Demoſthenes's orations were the ſtandard of eloquence; he has ſoftened the reflection, *pene lex orandi fuit.*

(*l*) Tam denſa omnia, ita quibuſdam nervis intenta ſunt. *Il eſt ſi ſerré, ſi nerveaux.* I do not know whether this metaphor is borrowed from the nerves of the body, or from a bow, the ſtring of which being ſtrongly ſtretched (*nervi*) puſhes the arrow forward with a prodigious force and impetuoſity.

(*m*) Dion. Halicarn. in his book called τῶν ἀρχαίων κρίτης, cap. 5.

" (*n*) I remember, ſays Cicero, that I preferred " Demoſthenes to all other orators. He is adequate to " the idea I had formed to myſelf of eloquence; he at- " tained to that degree of perfection which I conceive " in thought, but find nowhere, except in him alone. " Never had any orator more greatneſs and ſtrength, " more art and cunning, nor more prudence and mode- " ration in his ornaments. He excels in every kind of " eloquence.... (*o*) He poſſeſſes all the qualifications " neceſſary for forming the orator. He is perfect. " Whatever penetration, whatever refinement, whatever " artifice, as it were, and cunning, can ſuggeſt on any " ſubject; theſe he finds and employs with a juſtneſs, " a brevity, and clearneſs, which give us a ſatisfaction, " to which nothing can add. Are elevation, greatneſs, " and vehemence neceſſary? He ſurpaſſes all others in " the ſublimity of his thoughts, and the magnificence " of his expreſſions. He is inconteſtably the firſt; " none equals him. Hyperides, Æſchines, Lycurgus, " Dinarchus, Demades, have no other merit but that " of coming neareſt to him.

" (*p*) That harangue (ſays Cicero in another place, " ſpeaking of Cteſiphon's defence) anſwers ſo effec- " tually to the idea I have formed of perfect elo- " quence, that we can wiſh nothing more finiſhed."

Before

(*n*) Recordor me longe omnibus unum anteferre Demoſthenem, qui vim accommodârit ad eam quam ſentiam eloquentiam, non ad eam quam in aliquo ipſe cognoverim. Hoc nec gravior extitit quiſquam, nec callidior, nec temperatior.... Unus eminet inter omnes in omni genere dicendi. Orat. n. 23. et 104.

(*o*) Plane quidem perfectum, et cui nihil admodum deſit, Demoſthenem facile dixeris. Nihil acute inveniri potuit in eis cauſis quas ſcripſit, nihil (ut ita dicam) ſubdole, nihil verſute, quod ille non viderit: nihil ſubtiliter dici, nihil preſſe, nihil enucleate, quo fieri poſſit aliquid limatius: nihil contra grande, nihil incitatum, nihil ornatum vel verborum gravitate, vel ſententiarum, quo quidquam eſſet elatius, &c. Brut. n 35.

(*p*) Ea profecto oratio in eam formam, quæ eſt infira in mentibus noſtris, includi ſic poteſt, ut major eloquentia non quæratur. Orat. n. 133.

Before I proceed to the character of Cicero's eloquence, I think myſelf obliged to add here ſome reflections upon that of Demoſthenes.

It would, in my opinion, be renouncing of good ſenſe and ſound reaſon, to call in queſtion the ſuperior merit of the Greek orator, after the incredible ſucceſs he had in his time, and the noble encomiums which the beſt judges have been, in a manner, contending to beſtow upon him.

He ſpoke (*q*) before the moſt polite people that ever lived, and the moſt delicate, and difficult to be pleaſed in point of eloquence; a people ſo well acquainted with the beauties and graces of ſpeech, and the purity of diction, that their orators durſt not venture to uſe any doubtful or uncommon expreſſion, or any which might be the leaſt offenſive to ſuch nice and refined ears. Beſides, he lived in an age when the taſte of the beautiful, the true, and the ſimple was in its utmoſt perfection. (*r*) Thrice happy age! which gave birth to a multitude of orators at the ſame time, every one of whom might have been looked upon as a complete model, had not Demoſthenes eclipſed them all, by the ſtrength of his genius, and the extraordinary ſuperiority of his merit.

All poſterity have done him the ſame juſtice, which even his own age did not deny him. But Cicero's judgment alone ſhould determine that of every judicious and equitable man. He is not a ſtupid admirer who gives himſelf up to blind prejudices, without examination. But how much ſoever, in Cicero's opinion, De-

(*q*) Athenienſium ſemper fuit prudens ſincerumque judicium, nihil ut poſſent niſi incorruptum audire et elegans. Eorum religioni cum ſerviret orator, nullum verbum inſolens, nullum odioſum ponere audebat.... Ad Atticorum aures teretes et religioſas qui ſe accommodant, ii ſunt exiſtimandi Attice dicere. Orat. n. 25. et 27.

(*r*) Sequitur oratorum ingens manus, cum decem ſimul Athenis ætas una tulerit: quorum longe princeps Demoſthenes, ac pene lex orandi fuit, Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1.

moſthenes excelled in every ſpecies of eloquence, (*s*) he ſtill owns that he does not ſatisfy him in every particular, and that he left him ſomething to wiſh for; ſo delicate was he upon that point, and ſo ſublime and elevated was his idea of a perfect orator. However he gives his orations, and eſpecially that for Cteſiphon, which was his maſterpiece, as the moſt finiſhed models we can propoſe to ourſelves.

What is there then in his orations that is ſo admirable, and could ſeize the univerſal and unanimous applauſe of all ages? Is Demoſthenes an orator who amuſes himſelf barely with tickling the ear, by the ſound and harmony of periods; or does he impoſe upon the mind, by a florid ſtile and ſhining thoughts? Such eloquence may indeed dazzle and charm, the moment we hear it; but the impreſſion it makes is of a ſhort duration. What we admire in Demoſthenes, is the plan, the ſeries, and the order and diſpoſition of the oration; it is the ſtrength of the proofs, the ſolidity of the arguments, the grandeur and nobleneſs of the ſentiments and of the ſtile; the vivacity of the turns and figures: in a word, (*t*) the wonderful art of repreſenting the ſubjects he treats, in all their luſtre, and diſplaying them in all their ſtrength; in which, according to Quintilian, that juſt eloquence chiefly conſiſts, which is not ſatisfied with repreſenting things as they really are, but heightens them by lively and animated touches, which only are capable of affecting and moving the paſſions of the auditors. But that which diſtinguiſhes Demoſthenes ſtill more, and in which no one has imitated him, is, that he drops himſelf ſo entirely;

is

(*s*) Uſque eo difficiles ac moroſi ſumus, ut nobis non ſatisfaciat ipſe Demoſthenes: qui quanquam unus eminet inter omnes in omni genere dicendi, tamen non ſemper implet aures meas, ita ſunt avidæ et capaces, et ſemper aliquid immenſum infinitumque deſiderant. Orat. n. 194.

(*t*) In hoc eloquentiæ vis eſt, ut judicem non ad id tantum impellat, in quod ipſe à rei natura duceretur: ſed aut qui non eſt, aut majorem quam eſt, faciat affectum. Hæc eſt illa quæ δεινωσις vocatur, rebus indignis, aſperis, invidioſis addens vim oratio: qua virtute præter alios plurimum Demoſthenes valuit. Quintil. l. 6. c. 2.

is always ſo ſcrupulous in avoiding every thing that might look like a ſhew or parade of wit and genius; and ſo careful to make the auditor attend to the cauſe and not to the orator; that no expreſſion, turn or thought ever eſcape him, ſuch, I mean, as are calculated merely to pleaſe or ſhine. This reſervedneſs, this moderation, in ſo fine a genius as Demoſthenes, and in topics ſo ſuſceptible of graces and elegance, raiſes his merit to its higheſt pitch, and is ſuperior to all encomiums. M. Tourreil's tranſlation, though generally very juſt, does not always preſerve that inimitable character; and we ſometimes meet with ornaments in it which are not found in the original.

The reader will not take it amiſs, if I ſupport what I have declared of Demoſthenes's ſtile, by the opinion of two illuſtrious moderns, which ought to have as much weight as thoſe of the ancients.

The firſt is from the archbiſhop of Cambray's dialogues upon eloquence, which are very proper to form the taſte, by the judicious reflections with which they abound. He thus ſpeaks of Demoſthenes, in his compariſon between him and Iſocrates. "Iſocrates is full "of florid and effeminate orations, and with periods "laboured with infinite pains to pleaſe the ear; whilſt "Demoſthenes moves, warms, and ſeizes the heart. "The latter is too much concerned for his country, to "amuſe himſelf, like Iſocrates, in playing upon words: "he argues cloſely, and his ſentiments are thoſe of a "ſoul that conceives nothing but great ideas: his diſ-"courſe improves and gathers ſtrength, at every word, "from the new arguments he employs. It is a chain "of bold and moving figures. Every reader ſees plainly, "that his whole ſoul is fixed on his country. Nature "herſelf ſpeaks in his tranſports, and art is ſo exquiſite "in what he ſays, that it does not appear. Nothing "was ever equal to his impetuoſity and vehemence." I ſhall ſoon quote another paſſage from M. Fenelon, which is ſtill more beautiful, wherein he compares Demoſthenes to Cicero.

My

My ſecond authority is M. de Tourreil, who had ſtudied Demoſthenes long enough, to diſcover his character, and the genius of his writings. " I allow, ſays " he, that we do not find in Æſchines, that air of rec- " titude, that impetuoſity of ſtile, that force of tranſ- " cendent veracity, which forces the conſent by the " weight of conviction; a talent that leaves Demoſ- " thenes without an equal, and which he applies in a " ſingular manner. Whether he calms or ruffles the " mind, we do not find ourſelves in any diſorder, but " think we are obeying the dictates of nature. Whe- " ther he perſuades or diſſuades, we do not perceive " any thing that offers violence, but we think we are " obeying the commands of reaſon; for this orator " always ſpeaks like nature and reaſon, and has pro- " perly no other ſtile but theirs. Whatever he ſays, " flows from that ſpring. He avoids even the ſhadow " of redundancy. He has no far-fetched embelliſh- " ments nor flowers. He loves nothing but fire and " light. He will not employ glittering weapons, but " ſuch only as will do execution. This, in my opini- " on, is the foundation of that victorious impetuoſity " which ſubdued the Athenians, and places Demoſ- " thenes above all the orators who ever lived.

" A peculiar energy, ſays the ſame author in another " place, conſtitutes his character, and ſets him above " equality. His diſcourſe is a ſeries of inductions, " concluſions, and demonſtrations, formed by common " ſenſe. His reaſoning, of which the force perpetually " increaſes, riſes by degrees and with precipitation to " the pitch he would carry it. He attacks openly, he " puſhes forward, and at laſt reduces the auditor to ſuch " ſtreights, that there is no further retreat for him. " But on this occaſion, the auditor, far from being " aſhamed of his defeat, feels the pleaſure which ſub- " mitting to reaſon affords. *Iſocrates*, ſaid Philip, " *puſhes only with a file, but Demoſthenes fights with the* " *ſword*... We ſee in him, a man, who has no other

" enemies

" enemies but thoſe of the ſtate, nor any paſſion but " the love of order and juſtice. A man, whoſe aim is " not to dazzle, but to inform; not to pleaſe, but to " be uſeful. He employs no other ornaments, but ſuch " as grow out of his ſubject; nor any flowers, but thoſe " he finds in his way. One would conclude, that he " deſired nothing farther than to be underſtood and that " he gained admiration without ſeeking it. Not that " he is devoid of graces, but then they are thoſe only " of an auſtere kind, and ſuch as are compatible with " the candour and ingenuity he profeſſed. In his writ- " ings, truth is not ſet off with paint, nor does he make " it effeminate, with intent to adorn it; no kind of " oſtentation, or retroſpect upon himſelf; he neither " ſhews nor regards himſelf, but is entirely confined to " his cauſe; and his cauſe is always the preſervation " or advantage of his country."

II.

Of CICERO's ELOQUENCE *compared with that of* DEMOSTHENES.

(*u*) Two orators, though very different in ſtile and character, may yet be equally perfect; ſo that it would not be eaſy to determine, which of them we ſhould chuſe to reſemble.

Perhaps this rule with which Cicero furniſhes us, may be of ſervice in the judgment we are to form between him and Demoſthenes.

Both excelled in the three kinds of writing, as every one muſt do who is truly eloquent. They knew how to vary their ſtile as their ſubjects varied: ſometimes ſimple and ſubtile (*x*) in cauſes of ſmall conſequence, in narrations and proofs; and at others, adorned and embelliſhed, when there was a neceſſity of pleaſing; ſometimes

(*x*) In his oratoribus illud animadvertendum eſt, poſſe eſſe ſummos, qui inter ſe ſint diſſimiles. . . . Ita diſſimiles erant inter ſe, ſtatuere ut tamen non poſſes utrius te malles ſimiliorem. Brut. n. 204. et 148.

(*u*) Je me ſers ici de ce mot, quoique dans notre langue il porte un autre idée que le *ſubtilis* des Latins.

ſometimes elevated and ſublime, when the dignity of the ſubject required it. (*x*) Cicero makes this remark, and he quotes for examples Demoſthenes and himſelf.

Quintilian has drawn a fine parallel between theſe two orators. (*y*) "The qualities, ſays he, on which "eloquence is founded, were alike in both; ſuch as "the deſign, the order, the diſpoſition, the diviſion, the "method of preparing the auditors, and the proving; "and, in a word, every thing that is relative to invention.

(*z*) "But there is ſome difference in their ſtile. The "one is more conciſe, the other more diffuſive; the "one puſhes cloſer to his adverſary, the other allows "him a larger ſpot to fight upon. The one is always "endeavouring to pierce him, as it were, with the "vivacity of his ſtile; the other often bears him down "with the weight of his diſcourſe. Nothing can be "retrenched from the one, nor added to the other. "Demoſthenes has more care and ſtudy, and Cicero "more nature and genius.

(*a*) "As to raillery, and exciting commiſeration, both "which are of vaſt effect in eloquence, Cicero has "undoubtedly the advantage in theſe.

(*b*) "But he yields to him in this reſpect, *viz.* that "Demoſthenes lived before him, and that Cicero, "though

(*x*) In Orat. n. 102, 103, et 110, 111.

(*y*) Horum ego virtutes pleraſque arbitror ſimiles: conſilium: ordinem: dividendi, præparandi, probandi rationem; omnia denique quæ ſunt inventionis. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

(*z*) In eloquendo eſt aliqua diverſitas. Denſior ille, hic copioſior. Ille concludit aſtrictius, hic latius pugnat. Ille * acumine ſemper, hic frequenter et pondere. Illi nihil detrahi poteſt, huic nihil adjici. Curæ plus in illo, in hoc naturæ.

(*a*) Salibus certe et commiſeratione (qui duo plurimum affectus valent) vincimus.

(*b*) Cedendum vero in hoc quidem, quod et ille prior fuit, et ex magna parte Ciceronem, quantus eſt, fecit. Nam mihi videtur Marcus Tullius, cum ſe totum ad imitationem Græcorum contuliſſet, effinxiſſe

* *The tranſlator has thus rendered this paſſage,* L'un eſt toujours ſubtil dans la diſpute, &c. *I do not think that ſubtilty is meant here, but believe that the metaphor is borrowed from a ſword.*

" though a very extraordinary man, owes part of his me-
" rit to the Athenian orator. For my opinion is, that Ci-
" cero having bent all his thoughts to the Greeks, in or-
" der to form himſelf upon their model, compounded his
" character out of Demoſthenes's ſtrength, Plato's co-
" piouſneſs, and Iſocrates's ſweetneſs. And ſuch was his
" application, that he not only extracted every thing ex-
" traordinary from thoſe great originals, but produced,
" as it were, by the happy fruitfulneſs of his divine ge-
" nius, the greateſt part of thoſe very perfections, or ra-
" ther all of them. For to uſe an expreſſion of Pindar,
" he does not collect the waters of heaven to remedy
" his natural dryneſs, but finds a ſpring of living wa-
" ter within himſelf, which is ever flowing with vehe-
" mence and impetuoſity; and one would conclude,
" that the gods had given him to the world, in order
" that eloquence might exert her utmoſt ſtrength in the
" perſon of this great man.

(c) " And indeed, what man was ever more exact
" in inſtructing, or moved the paſſions with greater
" force? What orator has ſuch a profuſion of
" charms as him we are ſpeaking of? Theſe are ſo
" great, that we think we grant him what he forces
" from us; and when he hurries away the judges by
" his impetuoſity, as with a torrent, they think they
" follow him of their own accord, at the very time

 " they

effinxiſſe vim Demoſthenis, copiam Platonis, jucunditatem Iſocratis. Nec vero quod in quoque optimum fuit ſtudio conſecutus eſt tantum, ſed plurimas vel potius omnes ex ſe ipſo virtutes extulit immortalis ingenii beatiſſima ubertas. Non enim pluvias (ut ait Pindarus) aquas colligit, ſed vivo gurgite exundat, dono quodam providentiæ genitus, in quo totas vires ſuas eloquentia experiretur.

(c) Nam quis docere diligentius, movere vehementius poteſt? Cui tanta unquam jucunditas affuit? ut ipſa illa quæ extorquet, impetrare eum credas, et cum tranſverſum vi ſua judicem ferat, tamen ille non rapi videatur, ſed ſequi. Jam in omnibus quæ dicit tanta auctoritas ineſt, ut diſſentire pudeat; nec advocati ſtudium, ſed teſtis aut judicis afferat fidem. Cum interim hæc omnia, quæ vix ſingula quiſquam intentiſſima cura conſequi poſſet, fluunt illaborata: et illa, qua nihil pulchrius auditu eſt, oratio præ ſe ferat tamen feliciſſimam facilitatem.

" they are forced along. Beſides, he delivers himſelf " with ſo much reaſon and weight, that we are aſhamed " to differ in opinion from him. We do not find in him " the zeal of the lawyer, but the integrity of a witneſs " and of a judge. And theſe ſeveral particulars, every " one of which would coſt another infinite pains, flow " naturally, and, as it were, of themſelves, from him; " ſo that his manner of writing, though ſo beautiful and " inimitable, is nevertheleſs ſo eaſy and natural, that one " would conclude it had not coſt him any pains.

(*d*) " His contemporaries therefore had reaſon to ſay, " that he exerciſed a kind of empire at the bar. And it " was but juſtice in thoſe who ſucceeded him, to eſteem " him ſo highly, that the name of Cicero is now leſs " the name of a man, than of eloquence itſelf. Let " us therefore keep our eyes perpetually upon him; " let this orator be our model; and we may depend " that we have made a great improvement when we " love, and have a taſte for Cicero."

Quintilian did not dare to form a judgment upon theſe two great orators; he however ſeems to have a ſecret prejudice in favour of Cicero.

Father Rapin is equally cautious and reſerved in his compariſon between thoſe orators; I ſhould be obliged to copy his whole treatiſe, were I to repeat all his beautiful reflections on this ſubject. But ſome ſhort extracts inform us ſufficiently of the difference to be found between them.

" Beſides that ſolidity, ſays he, ſpeaking of Ci- " cero, which compriſed ſo much ſenſe and pru- " dence, he had a certain beauty and quinteſſence " of wit, which enabled him to embelliſh all his " ideas; and he heightened every thing that occur- " red

(*d*) Quare non immerito ab hominibus ætatis ſuæ regnare in judiciis dictus eſt: apud poſteros vero id conſecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis ſed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur. Hunc igitur ſpectemus: hoc propoſitum nobis ſit exemplum. Ille ſe profeciſſe ſciat, cui Cicero valde placebit.

" red to his imagination, with the moſt beautiful turns, " and the moſt animated colours in nature. Whatever " ſubject he might treat, even the moſt abſtracted mat- " ters in logic, the drieſt topics in phyſics, the moſt knot- " ty points in law, or the moſt intricate in buſineſs; all " theſe, I ſay, when delivered by him, aſſumed that " ſprightlineſs, and all thoſe graces ſo natural to him. " For we muſt confeſs, that no man ever ſpoke with ſo " much judgment or beauty on all ſubjects.

" Demoſthenes, ſays he elſewhere, diſcovers the re- " ality and ſolidity of every reaſon that preſents itſelf to " his mind, and has the art of diſplaying it in all its force. " Cicero, beſides the ſolid, which never eſcapes him, " ſees whatever is agreeable and engaging, and traces it " directly. In order therefore to diſtinguiſh the cha- " racters of theſe two orators by their real difference, " methinks we may ſay, that Demoſthenes, from the " impetuoſity of his temper, the ſtrength of his reaſon, " and the vehemence of his action, had more force than " Cicero; as Cicero, by his ſoft and delicate deport- " ment, by his gentle, piercing, and paſſionate emo- " tions, and his many natural graces, was more affect- " ing than Demoſthenes. The Grecian ſtruck the " mind by the ſtrength of his expreſſion, and the ar- " dor and violence of his declamation; the Roman " reached the heart by certain charms and imperceptı- " ble beauties, which were natural to him, and which " were heightened by all the art that eloquence is ca- " pable of. The one dazzled the underſtanding by the " ſplendor of his light, and threw a confuſion into the " ſoul, which was won by the underſtanding only; and " the inſinuating genius of the other, penetrated, by a " certain ſweetneſs and complacency, to the moſt hid- " den receſſes of the heart. He had the art of entering " into the intereſts, the inclinations, the paſſions, and " ſentiments of all who heard him."

The

The archbiſhop of Cambray having more courage than the two excellent writers above cited, declares manifeſtly in favour of Demoſthenes; and yet he cannot be thought to be an enemy to the graces, the flowers, and elegance of ſpeech. He gives us his ſentiments on this ſubject, in his epiſtle upon eloquence. "I am not, ſays he, afraid "to own, that I prefer Demoſthenes to Cicero. I pro- "teſt no one admires Cicero more than I do; he adorns "every thing he touches; he does honour to ſpeech; he "makes more of words than any other could; he is poſ- "ſeſſed of a variety of geniuſes; he is even conciſe and "vehement whenever he pleaſes, againſt Catiline, Ver- "res, and Anthony; but we perceive ſome embelliſh- "ment in his orations. They are worked up with won- "derful art, but we ſee through it. When the orator "thinks of the ſafety of the commonwealth, he neither "forgets himſelf, nor ſuffers others to do it; but De- "moſthenes ſeems to ſtep out, as it were, from him- "ſelf, and to ſee nothing but his country. He does "not ſeek after beauties, for they occur to him natu- "rally. He is ſuperior to admiration; he makes uſe of "ſpeech as a modeſt man does of clothes: he thunders "and lightens: he is a flood, that ſweeps away all things "in its progreſs. We cannot criticiſe upon him, be- "cauſe we are captivated by his eloquence. We are "attentive to his ideas, and not to his words: we loſe "ſight of him, and our whole attention is fixed on Phi- "lip, who uſurps every thing. Both orators charm "me; but I own myſelf leſs affected with Cicero's "boundleſs art and magnificent eloquence, than with "the rapid ſimplicity of Demoſthenes."

Nothing can be more rational and judicious than theſe reflections of the great archbiſhop; and the cloſer we examine his opinion, the more conformable we find it to good ſenſe, right reaſon, and the moſt exact rules of true rhetoric. But whoever would take upon him to prefer Demoſthenes's orations to

thoſe of Cicero, ought, in my opinion, to poſſeſs almoſt as much ſolidity, force, and elevation of mind, as Demoſthenes muſt have had to compoſe them. Whether it be owing to a long prepoſſeſſion in favour of an author we have conſtantly read from our tender years; or that we are accuſtomed to a ſtile which agrees more with our manners, and is more adapted to our capacities, we cannot be perſuaded to prefer the ſevere auſterity of Demoſthenes to the inſinuating ſoftneſs of Cicero; and we chuſe to follow our own inclination and taſte for an author who is in ſome meaſure our friend and acquaintance, rather than to declare, upon the credit of another, in favour of one that is almoſt a ſtranger to us.

Cicero knew the high merit of Demoſthenes's eloquence, and was fully ſenſible of all its ſtrength and beauty: but being perſuaded that an orator may without deviating from the beſt rules, form his ſtile to a certain point upon the taſte of his auditors, (it is obvious enough that I don't here mean a depraved or vicious taſte) he did not think the age he lived in, ſuſceptible of ſo rigid an exactneſs (*e*); and believed it neceſſary to indulge ſomething to the ears and to the delicacy of his auditors, who required more elegance and graces in orations. Thus, he made ſome allowance to pleaſure, but ſtill never loſt ſight of the cauſe he was pleading; and he thought he was even then ſerving his country, which he did effectually, ſince one of the ſureſt methods of perſuading is to pleaſe.

The beſt advice that can be given to young perſons who are deſigned for the bar, is to take for the model of their ſtile, the ſolid foundation of Demoſthenes, embelliſhed with the graces of Cicero. (*f*) To which, if

(*e*) Quapropter ne illis quidem nimium repugno, qui dandum putant non nihil eſſe temporibus atque auribus nitidius aliquid atque affectatius poſtulantibus. . . . Atque id feciſſe M. Tullium video, ut, cum omnia utilitati, tum partem quandam delectationi daret: cum et ipſam ſe rem agere diceret (agebat autem maxime) litigatoris. Nam hoc ipſo proderat, quod placebat. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

(*f*) Ad cujus voluptates nihil equidem, quod addi poſſit, invenio, niſi ut ſenſus nos quidem dicamus plures. Ibid.

if we may be believe Quintilian, nothing can be added, except, ſays he, that perhaps a few more thoughts might be introduced in diſcourſes. He means, no doubt, thoſe which were very much in vogue in his time, and by which, as by ſo many lively and ſhining ſtrokes, they pointed the ends of moſt of their periods. Cicero ventures upon them ſometimes, but it is very rarely; (*g*) and he was the firſt among the Romans who made them current. It is very obvious, that what Quintilian ſays in this place, is nothing but a kind of condeſcenſion, which the depraved taſte of the age ſeems to have forced from him, (*h*) when, according to the obſervation of the author of the Dialogue upon Orators, the auditor thought he had a right to inſiſt upon a florid ſtile; and when even the judge would not vouchſafe to hear a lawyer, if he were not invited, and in ſome meaſure corrupted, by the allurement of pleaſure, and by the ſplendor of the thoughts and deſcriptions.

(*i*) "But, let no one pretend, adds Quintilian, to "abuſe my complaiſance, or to carry it farther. I will "indulge the age we live in ſo far, as to have the gown "now in faſhion made of ſomething better than coarſe "ſtuff, but then it muſt not be of ſilk; I will allow the "hair to be neatly diſpoſed, but it muſt not be in ſtages "and in ringlets; for dreſs is then the moſt elegant, "and, at the ſame time, the moſt beautiful and be-"coming, when it has nothing luxurious and exceſſive "in it, for the ſake of pleaſing."

Had

(*g*) Cicero primus excoluit orationem . . . . locoſque lætiores attentavit, et quaſdam ſententias invenit. Dial. de Orat. n. 22.

(*h*) Auditor aſſuevit jam exigere lætitiam et pulchritudinem orationis. . . Judex ipſe, niſi. . . . aut colore ſententiarum, aut nitore et cultu deſcriptionum invitatus et corruptus eſt, averſatur dicentem. Ibid. n. 20.

(*i*) Sed me hactenus cedentem nemo inſequatur ultra. Do tempori, ne craſſa toga ſit, non ſerica: ne intonſum caput, non in gradus atque annulos totum comptum: cum in eo qui ſe non ad luxuriam ac libidinem referat, eadem ſpecioſiora quoque ſint, quæ honeſtiora. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

Had orators kept within theſe juſt bounds, and this wiſe ſobriety with regard to ornaments, eloquence would not have degenerated in Athens and Rome.

We may affirm, that the moſt conſpicuous age for eloquence at Athens, was that of Demoſthenes, (*k*) when ſo great a multitude of excellent orators aroſe, whoſe general character was, a natural and unadorned beauty: Theſe orators did not at all boaſt the ſame genius, nor the ſame ſtile; but they were all united in the ſame taſte of truth and ſimplicity; which continued as long as the Athenians imitated thoſe great men; but the remembrance of them growing inſenſibly more obſcure after their death, and being at laſt quite obliterated in people's minds, a new ſpecies of eloquence aroſe, which was ſofter and more looſe and diffuſed than the ancient kind.

Demetrius Phalereus, who might have ſeen and heard Demoſthenes, took a different courſe, by giving entirely into the florid and embelliſhed ſpecies. He thought eloquence ought to appear in gay and ſprightly colours, and be diveſted of that gloomy and rigid air, which made her, in his opinion, too ſerious. He introduced a great many more thoughts; ſtrewed more flowers over her, and, to uſe an expreſſion of Quintilian, inſtead of the majeſtic, but modeſt dreſs ſhe wore in Demoſthenes's time, (*l*) he gave her a ſparkling robe, variegated with colours altogether unfit for the duſt of the bar, but, at the ſame time, very fit to attract and dazzle the eyes of people.

Thus

(*k*) Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam: et, ut opinio mea fert, ſuccus ille et ſanguis incorruptus uſque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis ineſſet non fucatus nitor. Brut. n. 36.

Demoſthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Æſchines, Dinarchus, aliique complures, etſi inter ſe pares non fuerunt, tamen ſunt omnes in eodem veritatis imitandæ genere verſati. Quorum quamdiu manſit imitatio, tamdiu genus illud dicendi ſtudiumque vixit. Poſteaquam, extinctis his, omnis eorum memoria ſenſim obſcurata eſt et evanuit, alia quædam dicendi molliora ac remiſſiora genera viguerunt. 2. de Orat. n. 94, 95.

(*l*) Meminerimus verſicolorem illam, qua Demetrius Phalereus dicebatur uti, veſtem non bene ad forenſem pulverem facere, Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

(*l*) Thus Demetrius, being fitter for affairs of pomp and ceremony, than the conteſts and litigations of the bar, preferred ſoftneſs to ſtrength; endeavoured more to charm, than ſubdue the mind; thought it ſufficient to leave in it the remembrance of a flowing and harmonious diſcourſe, but did not endeavour, like Pericles, to leave at the ſame time ſharp ſtings, as it were, blended with the allurements of pleaſure.

(*m*) It does not appear, by the picture which Cicero had elſewhere drawn of Phalereus, and his opinion of him, that there was however any thing of forced and exceſſive in his ſtile; ſince he ſays, (*n*) we might eſteem and approve it, if not compared with the force and majeſty of the noble and ſublime ſtile. (*o*) And nevertheleſs Demetrius was the firſt who cauſed eloquence to degenerate; (*p*) and perhaps declamations, the practice of which was firſt introduced into the ſchools in his time, and poſſibly might have been invented by him, contributed very much to this fatal decline, as they certainly afterwards haſtened that of the Roman eloquence.

But things did not long continue in this ſtate. (*q*) When eloquence, after leaving the Piræum, had begun to breathe another air, ſhe ſoon loſt that ſprightlineſs and florid health which ſhe had always preſerved

(*l*) Phalereus ſucceſſit eis ſenibus adoleſcens, eruditiſſimus ille quidem horum omnium, ſed non tam armis inſtitutus quam palæſtra. Itaque delectabat magis Athenienſes, quam inflammabat. Proceſſerat enim in ſolem et pulverem: non ut è militari tabernacula, ſed ut è Theophraſti, doctiſſimi hominis, umbraculis. Hic primus inflexit orationem, et eam mollem teneramque reddidit: et ſuavis, ſicut fuit, videri maluit, quam gravis, ſed ſuavitate ea qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret et tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis ſuæ, non (quemadmodum de Pericle ſcripſit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum à quibus eſſet auditus. Brut. n. 37, 38. (*m*) Orat. n. 91, 96.

(*n*) Et niſi coram erit, comparatus ille fortior, per ſe hic, quem dico, probabitur. Orat. n 95.

(*o*) Primus inclinaſſe eloquentiam dicitur. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

(*p*) Quint. l. 2. c. 4.

(*q*) Ut ſemel è Piræeo eloquentia evecta eſt, omnes peragravit inſulas, atque ita peregrinata totâ Aſiâ eſt, ut ſe externis oblineret moribus; omnemque illam ſalubritatem Atticæ dictionis et quaſi ſanitatem perderet, ac loqui pene dediſceret. Brut. n. 51.

preſerved there; and being vitiated by foreign manners, ſhe forgot, as it were, the uſe of ſpeech, and was ſo changed, that there was no knowing her. Thus ſhe fell by degrees from the *beautiful* and the *perfect*, to the mediate or indifferent, whence ſhe plunged into every kind of error and exceſs.

I obſerved in another place, in ſpeaking of Seneca, that the Latin eloquence met with the ſame fate.

Poſſibly the ſame reaſons may juſtly make us apprehend the like misfortune, eſpecially when we conſider that thoſe changes proceeded wholly, both in the Athenian and Roman eloquence, from an exceſſive deſire of ſetting her off with too much pomp and parade. For I know not by what fatality it has always happened, that as ſoon as taſte was arrived at a certain degree of maturity and perfection, it almoſt immediately degenerated, and fell by imperceptible gradations, though ſometimes very ſuddenly, from the ſummit of perfection to barbarity. I except, however, the Greek poetry, every ſpecies of which, from Homer to Theocritus and his contemporaries, that is, for ſix or ſeven centuries, preſerved the ſame purity and elegance.

We may affirm, to the glory of our own nation, that our taſte with regard to polite literature, has been exquiſite for near a century and ſtill continues ſo. But it is remarkable, that thoſe celebrated writers, who have done ſo much honour to France, each of whom may be conſidered as an original in his way, thought it a duty incumbent on them, to conſider the ancients as their maſters; and that the writings in the greateſt eſteem among us, and which in all probability will deſcend to the lateſt poſterity, are all formed on the model of the celebrated among the ancients. This ought alſo to be our rule; and we may be aſſured that we deviate as much from perfection, as we depart from the taſte of the ancients.

But to return, and conclude this article, the beſt model for youth deſigned for the bar, is, as was before

fore obſerved, Demoſthenes's ſtile, ſoftened and adorned with that of Cicero, in ſuch a manner, that the ſeverity of the former be qualified with the graces of the latter; and that the conciſeneſs and vivacity of Demoſthenes may correct the luxuriancy, and perhaps the too looſe (*r*) way of writing with which Cicero is reproached.

A more florid kind of eloquence, ſuch, for example, as that of M Flechier, is no way ſuitable to lawyers. I never read the picture which Cicero gives of an orator of his time called Callidius, but I diſcover moſt of M. Flechier's principal characters in it; and the reflection he makes upon it, ſeems to me very well adapted to the matter I am now treating. " (*s*) He was " not, ſays he, an orator of an ordinary rank, but one " of ſingular and uncommon merit. His thoughts " are great and exquiſite, and he clothes them in de- " licate words. He managed a diſcourſe as he pleaſed, " and could throw it into any form; no orator was " ever more maſter of his ſubject, or handled it with " greater

(*r*) Dial. de Orat. n. 18.

(*s*) Sed de M Callidio dicamus aliquid, qui non fuit orator unus è multis; potius inter multos prope ſingularis fuit: ita reconditas exquiſitaſque ſententias mollis et pellucens veſtiebat oratio. Nihil tam tenerum quam illius comprehenſio verborum: nihil tam flexibile: nihil quod magis ipſius arbitrio fingeretur, ut nullius oratoris æque in poteſtate fuerit. Quæ primum ita pura erat, ut nihil liquidius: ita liberè fluebat, ut nuſquam adhæreſceret. Nullum niſi loco poſitum, et tanquam in vermiculato emblemate, ut ait Lucilius, ſtructum verbum videres. Nec vero ullum aut durum, aut inſolens, aut humile, aut in longius dictum. Ac non propria verba rerum, ſed pleraque tralata: ſic tamen ut ea, non irruiſſe in alienum locum, ſed immigraſſe in ſuum diceres. Nec vero hæc ſoluta, nec diffluentia ſed adſtricta numeris, non aperte nec eodem modo ſemper, ſed varie diſſimulanterque concluſis. Erant autem et verborum et ſententiarum lumina——quibus tanquam inſignibus in ornatu diſtinguebatur omnis oratio——Accedebat ordo rerum plenus artis, totumque dicendi placidum et ſanum genus. Quod ſi eſt optimum ſuaviter dicere, nihil eſt quod melius hoc quærendum putes. Sed cum à nobis paulo ante dictum ſit, tria videri eſſe quæ orator efficere deberet, ut doceret, ut delectaret, ut moveret: duo ſumme tenuit, ut et rem illuſtraret diſſerendo, et animos eorum qui audirent demulceret voluptate. Aberat tertia illa laus qua permoveret atque incitaret animos, quam plurimum pollere diximus. Brut. n. 274, 275, 276.

" greater art. Nothing is purer or more flowing than " his diction; every word ſtands in its proper place, " and is ſet in, as it were, by a maſterly hand. He " admits nothing harſh, obſolete, low, or that can " confuſe or diſorder a diſcourſe. He uſes metaphors " frequently; but they are ſo natural, that they ſeem " leſs to aſſume the place of other words, than to poſ- " ſeſs their own. All this is accompanied with har- " mony and cadence, ſurpriſingly various, and yet " far from affectation. He aptly employs the moſt " beautiful figures, which add a ſtrong luſtre to his " writings. We ſee the utmoſt art and juſtneſs in the " order and plan of his work; and the ſtile of the " whole is eaſy, calm, and in an exquiſite taſte. In " a word, if eloquence conſiſted in beauty only, no- " thing could be ſuperior to this orator. Of the three " parts which conſtitute it, he is a perfect maſter of " the two firſt; I mean thoſe which tend to pleaſe and " inſtruct; but he is quite deficient in the third ſpecies, " which is the moſt conſiderable, I mean that by " which the paſſions are moved."

We ought certainly to ſet a high value upon this kind of eloquence; but in what light will it appear when compared to the great and the ſublime, which is the characteriſtic of that of Demoſthenes? The latter reſembles thoſe beautiful and magnificent buildings, formed after the taſte of ancient architecture, that admits only of ſimple ornaments; the firſt view of which, and much more the plan, the œconomy and diſtribution of the ſeveral parts, exhibit ſomething ſo great, noble and majeſtic, that they ſtrike and charm the artiſt at the ſame inſtant. The other may be compared to houſes built in an elegant and delicate taſte, to which art and opulence have annexed whatever is rich and ſplendid; in which gold and marble are every where ſeen, and where the eye is perpetually delighted with ſomething curious and exquiſite.

There

There is a third kind of eloquence, which in my opinion, is alſo inferior to the ſecond, and may lead us inſenſibly to ſomething worſe; I mean that which abounds with ſallies of wit, bright thoughts, and a kind of points, which are now ſo much in vogue. Theſe are ſupported in ſome of our writers, by the juſtneſs of ideas, the ſtrength of argument, the order and ſeries of diſcourſe, and natural beauty of genius. But as the laſt qualities are very uncommon, we have juſt reaſon to fear that their imitators will copy all the vices and defects of their ſtile, as did Seneca's imitators; (*t*) for theſe, by copying only his faults, were as much inferior to the model they propoſed to follow, as Seneca himſelf to the ancients.

The bar was always, but now more than ever, an enemy to this dazzling affected ſtile. The grave diſcourſe of thoſe judicious magiſtrates, who when they preſcribe the true rules of eloquence every year to pleaders, point out at the ſame time perfect models to them, are ſtrong barriers againſt a vicious taſte; and contribute very much towards perpetuating, in courts of juſtice, that happy traditional good taſte, as well as juſt ſentiments, which they have ſo long retained.

Before I conclude this article, I ſhould treat a point in which ſeveral young ſtudents will one day want to be inſtructed; I mean, to point out the ſtile proper for *Reports*. This branch is of much more frequent uſe, and more extenſive in our days than the eloquence of the bar; for it takes in all who are concerned in the law, and is practiſed in all the ſuperior and inferior courts, in all companies, in all public offices, and in all commiſſions. To ſucceed in this kind of declamation is as glorious as the pleading of cauſes, and as uſeful for the defence of juſtice and innocence. However, I can treat but very ſlightly of this matter here, and

(*t*) Amabant eum magis, quam imitabantur: tantumque ab illo defluebant, quantum ille ab antiquis deſcenderat. Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

and will only explain the principles of it, without being very particular.

I am ſenſible that every company and every court have their particular uſages and cuſtoms in reporting caſes. But all have the ſame foundation; and the ſtile, on theſe occaſions, muſt be the ſame every-where. There is a ſort of eloquence peculiar to this kind of diſcourſe, which conſiſts, if I am not miſtaken, in ſpeaking with perſpicuity and elegance.

The end propoſed by a perſon who reports caſes, is, to inform the judges, his colleagues, of the affair upon which they are to give judgment in conjunction with him. He is charged, in their names, with the examination of it. He becomes, on that occaſion, the eye, as it were, of the company. He communicates to them all the lights and informations poſſible. But to do this effectually, the ſubjects he undertakes to treat muſt be methodized in ſuch a manner, the ſeveral facts and proofs ſo diſpoſed, and the whole ſo perſpicuous and clear, that all may eaſily comprehend the *report*. All things muſt conſpire to this perſpicuity, the thoughts, the expreſſions, the turns, and even the utterance, which muſt be diſtinct, eaſy and calm.

I obſerved, that to beauty muſt be joined perſpicuity, becauſe we muſt often pleaſe in order to inſtruct. Judges are but men, and though they are attached to truth and juſtice, abſtracted from all other conſiderations, it is however proper to attach them ſtill more ſtrongly to them by ſomething taking and delightful. Cauſes which are generally obſcure and full of difficulties, occaſion tediouſneſs and diſguſt, if the perſon who makes the report does not take care to render it agreeable by a certain elegance and delicacy of wit, which ſtrikes us without affecting to diſplay itſelf, and, by a certain charm and grace, awakens and excites the attention of the hearers.

Addreſſes to the paſſions, wherein the greateſt force of eloquence conſiſts in other caſes, are here abſolutely

abſolutely prohibited. The perſon who makes the report, does not ſpeak as an advocate, but as a judge. In this view, he maintains one of the characteriſtics of the law, which, while it is ſerene and calm itſelf, points out the rule and duty; and as he himſelf is commanded to be free from paſſions, he is not allowed to attempt to excite them in others.

This manner of ſpeaking, which is not ſupported either by the beauty of thoughts and expreſſions, by the boldneſs of figures, or by the pathos of the paſſions, but which has only an eaſy, ſimple and natural air and turn in it, is the only one fit for reports, and at the ſame time not ſo eaſy to attain as may be imagined.

I would willingly apply what Tully ſays of Scaurus's eloquence to that of one who makes reports. This orator tells us, that it did not ſuit the vivacity of pleading, but was very well adapted to the gravity of a ſenator, who was more conſiderable for his ſolidity and dignity, than for pomp and ſhew; and whoſe conſummate prudence, joined to the higheſt ſincerity, forced the auditors to give their conſent. For on this occaſion, the reputation of a judge conſtitutes part of his eloquence, and the idea we entertain of his integrity, adds great weight and authority to his diſcourſe. (*u*) "In Scauri "oratione, ſapientis hominis et recti, gravitas ſumma "et naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas: non ut "cauſam, ſed ut teſtimonium dicere putares, cum pro "reo diceret. Hoc dicendi genus ad patrocinia me"diocriter aptum videbatur; ad ſenatoriam vero ſen"tentiam, cujus erat ille princeps, vel maxime: ſigni"ficabat enim non prudentiam ſolum, ſed, quod max"ime rem continebat, fidem.

It is therefore manifeſt, that thoſe who would ſucceed in *reports*, muſt carefully ſtudy the firſt, or ſimple kind of eloquence; muſt enter thoroughly into the genius and taſte of it, and copy from the beſt models; muſt uſe the ſecond ſpecies of eloquence, *viz.*

(*u*) Brut. n. 111, & 112.

viz. the flowery and mediate kind, very ſparingly; borrow only a few touches and beauties from it, with a wiſe circumſpection, and that very rarely; but as to the third kind, (the ſublime ſtile) they muſt abſolutely never make uſe of it.

The practice of the univerſities, eſpecially in the claſſes of rhetoric and philoſophy, may be very uſeful to young people, in preparing them for making reports. After explaining one of Tully's orations, the pupils are obliged to give an account of it, to diſplay its ſeveral parts, to diſtinguiſh the various proofs, and make remarks upon ſuch paſſages as are ſtrong or weak. In philoſophy likewiſe, it is the cuſtom, after reading ſome excellent treatiſes of that kind to them, ſuch as Deſcartes and Malbranche, to diſcuſs them thoroughly, to reduce arguments, which often are very long and abſtracted, to ſome conciſeneſs and perſpicuity, to ſet the difficulties and objections in their full light, and to ſubjoin the ſolutions deduced from them. I have heard young lawyers own that of all the univerſity exerciſes, this was the moſt advantageous, and of the greateſt uſe to them in reports.

ARTICLE II.

How YOUTH *may prepare themſelves for* PLEADING.

AS Demoſthenes and Cicero arrived at perfection in eloquence, they are the moſt proper to point out the path which youth muſt follow to attain it. I ſhall therefore give a ſhort relation of what we are told concerning their tender years, their education, the different exerciſes by which they prepared themſelves for pleading, and what formed their greateſt merit, and eſtabliſhed their reputation. Thus, theſe two great orators will ſerve at the ſame time for models and guides to youth. I do not however pretend to ſay, they

they muſt or can imitate them in every thing; but ſhould they follow them only at a diſtance, they would find great advantages from it.

DEMOSTHENES.

(*x*) Demoſthenes having loſt his father, at the age of ſeven years, and falling into the hands of ſelfiſh and avaricious guardians who were wholly bent upon plundering his eſtate, was not educated with the care with which ſo excellent a genius as his deſerved: not to mention that the delicacy of his conſtitution, his ill ſtate of health, and the exceſſive fondneſs of his mother, did not allow his maſters to urge him in regard to his ſtudies.

Demoſthenes hearing them one day ſpeak of a famous cauſe that was to be pleaded, and which made a great noiſe in the city, importuned them very much to carry him to the bar, in order to hear the pleadings. The orator, whoſe name was Callïſtratus, was heard with great attention, and having been very ſucceſsful, was conducted home, in a ceremonious manner, amidſt a crowd of illuſtrious citizens, who expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction. Demoſthenes was ſtrongly affected with the honours which were paid the orator, and ſtill more with the abſolute and deſpotic power which eloquence has over the mind. Demoſthenes himſelf was ſenſible of its force and unable to reſiſt its charms; he from that day devoted himſelf entirely to it, and immediately laid aſide every other pleaſure and ſtudy.

Iſocrates's ſchool, (*y*) which formed ſo many great orators, was at that time the moſt famous in Athens. But whether the ſordid avarice of Demoſthenes's tutors hindered him from improving under a maſter who

(*x*) Plut. in vita Demoſth.

(*y*) Iſocrates——————cujus è lupo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt. 2 de Orat. n. 94.

who made his pupils pay very dear (*y*) for their inſtruction, or whether the gentle or calm eloquence of Iſocrates was not then ſuitable to his taſte, he was placed under Iſæus, (*z*) whoſe eloquence was forcible and vehement. He found however an opportunity to procure the precepts of rhetoric, as taught by Iſocrates.

Plato indeed contributed moſt to the forming of Demoſthenes. (*a*) And we plainly diſcover the noble and ſublime ſtile of the maſter, in the writings of the pupil.

His firſt eſſay of eloquence was againſt his guardians, whom he obliged to reſtore part of his fortune. Encouraged by this good ſucceſs, he ventured to ſpeak before the people; but acquitted himſelf very ill on that occaſion. Demoſthenes had a faint voice, ſtammered in his ſpeech, and had a very ſhort breath; and yet his periods were ſo long, that he was often obliged to pauſe in order to take breath. He therefore was hiſſed by the whole audience, and thereupon went home quite dejected, and determined to abandon for ever a profeſſion to which he imagined himſelf unequal. But one of his hearers, who perceived an excellent genius amidſt his faults, and an eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, encouraged him, by the ſtrong remonſtrances he made, and the ſalutary advice he gave him.

He therefore appeared a ſecond time before the people, but with no better ſucceſs than before. As he was going home with downcaſt eyes, and full of confuſion, he was met by his friend Satyrus, one of the beſt actors of the age; who being informed of the cauſe of his chagrin, told Demoſthenes, that the misfortune was not without remedy, nor ſo deſperate as he imagined. He deſired Demoſthenes only to repeat ſome of Euripides or Sophocles's verſes to him; which he immediately

(*y*) Ten minæ, or five hundred French livres.

(*z*) Sermo promptus, et Iſæo torrentior. Juven.

(*a*) Illud jusjurandum per cæſos in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores reipublicæ, ſatis manifeſto docet præceptorem ejus Platonem fuiſſe. Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.

diately did. Satyrus repeated them after him, and gave them quite another grace by the tone of voice, the geſture, and vivacity with which he ſpoke them; ſo that Demoſthenes obſerved they had a quite different effect. This made him ſenſible of what he wanted, and he applied himſelf to the attainment of it.

His endeavours to correct the natural impediment in his ſpeech, and to perfect himſelf in utterance, of the value of which his friend had made him ſo ſenſible, ſeemed almoſt incredible, and demonſtrate, that indefatigable induſtry can overcome all difficulties. (*b*) He ſtammered to ſuch a degree, that he could not even pronounce certain letters; and among others, that which began the name of the art he ſtudied; and his breath was ſo ſhort, that he could not utter a whole period without ſtopping. However, Demoſthenes overcame all theſe obſtacles, by putting little pebbles into his mouth, and then repeating ſeveral verſes one after another, without taking breath; and this even when he walked, and aſcended very craggy and ſteep places; ſo that he at laſt could pronounce all the letters without heſitating, and ſpeak the longeſt periods without once taking breath. But this was not all; (*c*) for he uſed to go to the ſea ſhore, and ſpeak his orations when the weather was moſt boiſterous, in order to prepare

(*b*) Orator imitetur illum, cui ſine dubio ſumma vis dicendi concedi-tur, Athenienſem Demoſthenem, in quo tantum ſtudium fuiſſe tantuſque labor dicitur, ut primum impedimenta naturæ diligentia induſtriaque ſuperaret: cumque ita balbus eſſet, ut ejus ipſius artis, cui ſtuderet, primam literam non poſſet dicere, perfecit meditando ut nemo planius eo locutus putaretur. Deinde cum ſpiritus ejus eſſet anguſtior, tantum continendâ animâ in dicendo eſt aſſecutus, ut una continuatione verborum (id quod ſcripta ejus declarant) binæ ei contentiones vocis et remiſſiones continerentur. Qui etiam (ut memoriæ proditum eſt) conjectis in os calculis, ſumma voce verſus multos uno ſpiritu pronuntiare conſueſcebat; neque id conſiſtens in loco, ſed inambulans, atque adſcenſu ingrediens arduo. 1. de Orat. n 260, 261.

(*c*) Propter quæ idem ille tantus amator ſecreti Demoſthenes, in littore, in quod ſe maximo cum ſono fluctus illideret, meditans conſueſcebat concionum fremitus non expaveſcere. Q. l. 10. c. 13.

prepare himſelf, by the confuſed noiſe of the waves, for the uproar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of aſſemblies. He had a large mirror, which was his maſter for action; and before this he uſed to declaim, before he ſpoke in public. He was well paid for his trouble, ſince by this method he carried the art of declaiming rothe higheſt perfection of which it was capable.

His application to ſtudy, in other reſpects, was equal to the pains he took to conquer his natural defects. He had a cloſet made under ground, that he might be remote from noiſe and diſturbance; and this was to be ſeen in Plutarch's time. There he ſhut himſelf up for months together, and had half his head ſhaved, on purpoſe that he might be kept from going abroad. It was there he compoſed, by the light of a ſmall lamp, thoſe excellent harangues, which ſmelt, as his enemies gave out, of the oil; to inſinuate, they were too much laboured. 'Tis very plain, replied he, yours did not coſt you ſo much trouble. He was a very early riſer, and (*d*) uſed to be under great concern when any artificer got to work before him. We may judge of his endeavours to perfect himſelf in every kind of learning, by the pains he took in copying Thucydides's hiſtory no leſs than eight times, with his own hand, in order to make his ſtile more familiar to him.

CICERO.

Cicero was born with a very fine genius, and had likewiſe the beſt education, (*e*) in which he was more happy than Demoſthenes. His father took particular care of it, and ſpared nothing to cultivate his talents. It appears, that the famous Craſſus, whom he ſo often mentions in his works, was pleaſed to direct the plan of his ſtudies, and aſſigned him ſuch preceptors as were capable of aſſiſting him in forming

(*d*) Cui non ſunt auditæ Demoſthenis vigiliæ? qui dolere ſe aiebat, ſi quando opificum antelucana victus eſſet induſtria. 4. Tuſc. quæſt. n. 44.

(*e*) 2. de Orat. n. 2.

Cicero (*f*). The poet Archias implanted in him very early the elements of taſte for polite literature; which Cicero himſelf tells us, in the eloquent oration he made in defence of his maſter.

No child ever diſcovered more ardor for ſtudy than Cicero. Children were at that time taught by none but Greeks; and he performed ſuch things in their language, as deſerve to be taken notice of. Plotius was the firſt who altered that cuſtom, and taught in Latin. He was a Gaul (*g*), and had a very famous ſchool. People ſent their children to it from all parts; and thoſe of the beſt taſte approved his method very much. Cicero was exceſſively deſirous of hearing ſuch a maſter; but thoſe who had the chief management of his education and ſtudies, did not think proper to gratify him, becauſe that method of teaching, which was not practiſed or heard of till then, appeared to the magiſtrates a dangerous innovation; and the cenſors, of whom Craſſus was one, made a decree to prohibit it, without giving any other reaſon, but that the cuſtom was contrary to the practice eſtabliſhed by their anceſtors (*h*). Craſſus, or rather Cicero in his name, endeavours to juſtify this decree in the beſt manner he could, which had given offence to people of the beſt underſtanding; and he hints, that the new plan itſelf was not ſo much condemned, as the method the maſters took in teaching it. And indeed, (*i*) this plan prevailed at laſt, and people were ſenſible of the benefit and advantages which accrued from it, as Suetonius informs

(*f*) Quoad longiſſime poteſt mens mea reſpicere ſpatium præteriti temporis, et pueritiæ memoriam recordari ultimam, inde uſque repetens, hunc video mihi principem et ad ſuſpiciendam et ad ingrediendam rationem horum ſtudiorum extitiſſe. Orat. pro Arch. n. 1.

(*g*) Equidem memoria teneo, pueris nobis primum Latine docere coepiſſe Lucium Plotium quemdam: ad quem cum fieret concurſus, quod ſtudioſiſſimus quiſque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam mihi idem non licere. Continebar autem doctiſſimorum hominum auctoritate qui exiſtimabant Græcis exercitationibus ali melius ingenia poſſe. Epiſt. Cicer. apud Suet. de claris Rhetoribus.

(*h*) 3. de Orat. n. 93, 95.

(*i*) Paulatim et ipſa utilis honeſtaque apparuit: multique eam præſidii cauſa et gloriæ appetiverunt. Suet. Ibid.

informs us, who has preſerved Cicero's epiſtle, wherein he ſpeaks of Plotius, the cenſor's order, and the decree of the ſenate.

(*k*) In the mean time, Cicero made a great progreſs under his maſters. And indeed, he had ſuch a genius as Plato wiſhed a pupil; a ſtrong thirſt for learning, a mind fit for ſciences, and that took in all things. Poetry was one of his firſt paſſions, and 'tis related that he ſucceeded tolerably well in it. From his infant years, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſo remarkable a manner among thoſe of his own age, that the parents of his ſchool-fellows, hearing of his extraordinary genius, came on purpoſe to the ſchool to be eye-witneſſes of it; and were charmed with what they ſaw and heard. His merit muſt have been attended with great modeſty, ſince his companions were the firſt who proclaimed it, and paid him ſuch honours, as raiſed the jealouſy of ſome of their parents.

At ſixteen, which was the time youth were allowed to wear the *toga virilis*, or manly gown, Cicero's ſtudies became more ſerious. (*l*) It was a cuſtom then at Rome for the father or next relation of a youth, who had attained the age we are now ſpeaking of, and deſigned for the bar, to preſent him to one of the moſt celebrated orators, and put him under his protection. After this, the young man devoted himſelf to his patron in a particular manner, went to hear him plead, conſult him about his ſtudies, and did nothing without his advice. Being thus accuſtomed betimes to breathe, as it were, the air of the bar, which is the beſt ſchool for a young lawyer; and as he was the diſciple

(*k*) Plut. in vit. Cicer.

(*l*) Ergo apud majores noſtros, juvenis ille, qui foro et eloquentiæ parabatur, imbutus jam domeſtica diſciplina, refertus honeſtis ſtudiis, deducebatur à patre, vel a propinquis, ad eum oratorem qui principem locum in civitate tenebat. Hunc ſectari, hunc proſequi, hujus omnibus dictionibus intereſſe. . . . . Atque hercule ſub ejuſmodi præceptionibus juvenis ille de quo loquimur, oratorum diſcipulus, fori auditor, ſectator judiciorum, eruditus et aſſuefactus alienis experimentis. . . . , ſolus ſtatim et unus cuicumque cauſæ par erat. Dial. de Orat. n. 34.

ciple of the greateſt maſters, and formed on the moſt finiſhed models, he was ſoon able to imitate them.

(*m*) Cicero himſelf tells us, this was his cuſtom, and that he was a diligent hearer of the ableſt orators in Rome. He devoted ſeveral hours every day to reading and compoſition; and 'tis very probable, that what he makes Craſſus (*n*) ſay, in his books *de Oratore*, he himſelf had practiſed in his youth; that is, to tranſlate the fineſt pieces of the Greek orators into Latin, in order to imbibe their ſtile and genius.

(*o*) He did not confine himſelf barely to the ſtudy of eloquence; for that of the law appeared to him one of the moſt neceſſary, and he devoted himſelf to it with uncommon application. He likewiſe made himſelf perfectly maſter of philoſophy in all its branches (*p*); and he proves in ſeveral places, that it contributed infinitely more than rhetoric towards making him an orator. (*q*) He had the beſt philoſophers of the age for his maſters.

Cicero did not begin to plead till he was about ſix and twenty; the troubles of the ſtate prevented him from attempting it ſooner. (*r*) His firſt eſſays were ſo many maſterpieces, and they immediately gained him a reputation almoſt equal to that of the oldeſt lawyers. His defence of Sextus Roſcius, and eſpecially the part relating to the puniſhment of the parricides, had extraordinary ſucceſs, and gained him great applauſe; and ſo much the more, as none elſe had courage enough to undertake the cauſe, on account of the exorbitant credit of Chryſogonus, freedman to Sylla the dictator, whoſe power in the commonwealth was at that time unlimited. The

(*m*) Reliquos frequenter audiens acerrimo ſtudio tenebar, quotidieque et ſcribens, et legens, et commentans, oratoris tantum exercitationibus contentus non eram. Brut. n. 305. (*n*) 1. de Orat. n. 155. (*o*) Brut. n. 306.

(*p*) Ego fateor, me oratorem, ſi modo ſim, aut etiam quicumque ſim, non ex rhetorum officinis, ſed ex Academiæ ſpatiis extitiſſe. Orat. n. 12.

(*q*) Brut. n. 305, & 309.

(*r*) Prima cauſa publica, pro Sexto Roſcio dicta, tantum commendationis habuit, ut non ulla eſſet, quæ non noſtro digna patrocinio videretur. Brut. n. 312.——Quantis illa clamoribus adoleſcentuli diximus de ſupplicio parricidarum? Orat. n. 1. 7.

(*s*) The ſenſible pleaſure his riſing reputation gave him, was allayed by the ill ſtate of his health. His conſtitution was very tender; the drudgery of the bar, together with his warm and vehement manner of writing and ſpeaking, made people fear he would ſink under their weight; and all his friends and the phyſicians enjoined him ſilence and retirement. It was a kind of death to him to renounce wholly the pleaſing hopes of glory which the bar ſeemed to offer him. He thought it would be enough to ſoften a little the vehemence of his ſtile and pronunciation, and that a voyage might reſtore his health. And accordingly, he ſet out for Aſia. Some indeed imagined a political reaſon made his abſence neceſſary, in order that he might avoid the conſequence of Chryſogonus's reſentment.

(*t*) He took Athens in his way, and continued there about ſix months. It is eaſy to judge how one who was ſo fond of ſtudy, employed that time in a city which was ſtill looked upon as the ſeat of the moſt refined learning, and moſt ſolid philoſophy. (*u*) From Athens he went to Aſia, where he conſulted all the able profeſſors of eloquence he could meet with. And not contented with all the treaſures he had amaſſed there, he proceeded to Rhodes, purpoſely to hear the celebrated Molo. Though he had already acquired great reputation among the lawyers of Rome, he was not in the leaſt aſhamed of taking new leſſons under him, and of becoming his diſciple a ſecond time. (*x*) But he had no reaſon to

(*s*) Erat eo tempore in nobis ſumma gracilitas et infirmitas corporis: procerum et tenue collum: qui habitus et quæ figura non procul abeſſe putatur à vitæ periculo, ſi accedit labor, et laterum magna contentio. Eoque magis hoc eos, quibus eram carus, commovebat, quod omnia ſine remiſſione, ſine varietate, vi ſumma vocis, et totius corporis contentione dicebam. Itaque cum me et amici et medici hortarentur, ut cauſas agere deſiſterem: quodvis potius periculum mihi adeundum, quam à ſperata dicendi gloria diſcedendum putavi. Sed cum cenſerem remiſſione et moderatione vocis, et commutato genere dicendi, me et periculum vitare poſſe, et temperatius dicere; ea cauſa mihi in Aſiam proficiſcendi fuit. Brunt. n. 313, 314.

(*t*) Brunt. n. 315. (*u*) Brunt. n. 315, et 316.

(*x*) Is Molo dedit operam, ſi modo id conſequi potuit, ut nimis redun-

to repent it; for this great maſter, taking him again under his tuition, corrected what was ſtill vicious in his ſtile; and completely retrenched that exceſſive redundancy, which, like a river that overflowed its banks, had neither meaſure nor boundaries.

(*x*) Cicero returned to Rome after two years abſence, not only more accompliſhed, but almoſt a new man. He had acquired a ſweeter voice; his ſtile was become more correct and leſs verboſe; and even his body was grown more robuſt. (*y*) He found two orators at Rome who had gained great reputation, and whom he much deſired to equal; theſe were Cotta and Hortenſius, but eſpecially the latter, who was very near of the ſame age with himſelf, and whoſe manner of writing bore a near reſemblance to his own. It is not an idle curioſity in young men deſigned for the bar, to ſee thoſe two great orators contending for prizes, like two wreſtlers, and diſputing for victory with one another during ſeveral years, through a noble emulation. I ſhall here relate a part of what Cicero tells us on that ſubject.

(*z*) Hortenſius wanted none of thoſe qualifications, either natural or acquired, which form the great orator. He had a lively genius, an inconceivable paſſion for ſtudy, a large extent of knowledge, a prodigious memory, and ſo perfect a manner of pronunciation, that

redundantes nos et ſuperfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia reprimeret, et quaſi extra ripas diffluentes coërceret. Brut. n. 316.

M. Tullius, cum jam clarum meruiſſet inter patronos qui tum erant, nomen.—Apollonio Moloni, quem Romæ quoque audierat, Rhodi ſe rurſus formandum ac velut recoquendum dedit. Quint. l. 12. c. 6.

(*x*) Ita recepi me biennio poſt, non modo exercitatior, ſed prope mutatus. Nam et contentio nimia vocis reciderat, et quaſi deferbuerat oratio, lateribuſque vires et corporis mediocris habitus acceſſerat. Brut. n. 316.

(*y*) Duo tum excellebant oratores, qui me imitandi cupiditate incitarent, Cotta et Hortenſius.---Cum Hortenſio mihi magis arbitrabar rem eſſe; quod et dicendi ardore eram propior, et ætate conjunctior. Brut. n. 317.

(*z*) Nihil iſti, neque à natura, neque à doctrina defuit.---Erat ingenio peracri, et ſtudio flagranti, et doctrina eximia, et memoria ſingulari 3. de Orat. n. 229, 230.

that the moſt celebrated actors of his time, went on purpoſe to hear him, in order to form themſelves by his example for geſture and declamation. Thus he made a ſhining figure at the bar, and acquired great reputation.

(*a*) But there being nothing further to animate his ambition after he was raiſed to the conſulſhip; and deſirous of a more happy way of life, as he imagined, or at leaſt a more eaſy one, with the great poſſeſſions he had acquired; he began to grow indolent, and abated very much of the warmth he had always entertained for ſtudy from his childhood. There was ſome difference in his manner of pleading the firſt, ſecond, and third years after his conſulſhip; but this was ſcarce perceivable; and none but the learned could obſerve it: as it happens to pictures, the brightneſs of whoſe colours decays inſenſibly. This declenſion increaſed with his years, and when his fire and vivacity left him, he grew every day more unlike himſelf.

(*b*) Cicero however redoubling his efforts, made a very great progreſs, endeavouring to come up with his rival, and even outſtrip him, if poſſible, in that noble career of glory, where pleaders are allowed to diſpute the palm with their beſt friends. A new ſpecies of eloquence, beautiful as well as energetic, which he introduced in the bar, drew peoples eyes upon him, and made him the object of public admiration. He himſelf gives an excellent picture of this, but in a curious and

(*a*) Poſt conſulatum.—ſummum illud ſuum ſtudium remiſit, quo à puero fuerat incenſus: atque in omnium rerum abundantia, voluit beatius, ut ipſe putabat, remiſſius certe, vivere. Primus, et ſecundus annus, et tertius, tantum quaſi de picturæ veteris colore detraxerat, quantum non quivis unus ex populo, ſed exiſtimator doctus et intelligens poſſet cognoſcere. Longius autem procedens, et in cæteris eloquentiæ partibus, tum maxime in celeritate et continuatione verborum adhæreſcens: ſui diſſimilior videbatur fieri quotidie. Brut. n. 320.

(*b*) Nos autem non deſiſtebamus, cum omni genere exercitationis, tum maxime ſtilo, noſtrum illud quod erat augere: quantumcunque erat. —Nam cum propter aſſiduitatem in cauſis, et induſtriam, tum propter exquiſitius et minime vulgare orationis genus, animos hominum ad me dicendi novitate converterem. N. 321.

delicate manner; by obſerving what was wanting in others, and ſhewing by that means what was admired in himſelf. I ſhall tranſcribe the whole paſſage, becauſe youth may therein ſee all the parts which form this great orator.

(*c*) " No perſon, at that time, ſays Cicero, made po-
" lite literature his particular ſtudy, without which
" there is no perfect eloquence. No one ſtudied philo-
" ſophy thoroughly, which alone teaches us at one and
" the ſame time, to live and ſpeak well. No one learnt
" the civil law, which is abſolutely neceſſary for an
" orator, to enable him to plead well in private cauſes,
" and form a true judgment of public affairs. There was
" no perſon well ſkilled in the Roman hiſtory, or able
" to make a proper uſe of it in pleading. No one
" could raiſe a cheerfulneſs in the judges, and unruffle
" them, as it were, by ſeaſonable railleries, after hav-
" ing vigorouſly puſhed his adverſary, by the ſtrength
" and ſolidity of his arguments: no one had the art of
" transferring or converting the circumſtances of a pri-
" vate affair into a common or general one: no perſon
" could ſometimes depart from his ſubject by prudent de-
" greſſions, to throw in the agreeable into his diſcourſe:
" in fine, no perſon could incline the judges ſometimes
" to anger, ſometimes to compaſſion; and inſpire them
" with

(*c*) Nihil de me dicam; dicam de cæteris, quorum nemo erat qui videratur exquiſitius quam vulgus hominum ſtuduiſſe literis, quibus fons perfectæ eloquentiæ continetur: nemo, qui philoſophiam complexus eſſet, matrem omnium bene factorum beneque dictorum: nemo, qui jus civile didiciſſet, rem ad privatas cauſas, et ad oratoris prudentiam, maxime neceſſariam: nemo, qui memoriam rerum Romanarum teneret, ex qua, ſi quando opus eſſet, ab inferis locupletiſſimos teſtes excitaret: nemo, qui breviter arguteque incluſo adverſario, laxaret judicum animos, atque à ſeveritate pauliſper ad hilaritatem riſumque traduceret: nemo, qui dilatare poſſet, atque à propria ac definita diſputatione hominis ac temporis ad communem quæſtionem univerſi generis orationem traduceret: nemo, qui delectandi gratia digredi parumper à cauſa: nemo qui ad iracundiam magnopere judicem, nemo, qui ad fletum poſſet adducere: nemo, qui animum ejus, (quod unum eſt oratoris maxime proprium) quocunque res poſtularet impelleret. Brut. n. 322.

" with whatever ſentiments he pleaſed, wherein, how-
" ever, the principal merit of an orator conſiſts."

(*d*) Cicero's great ſucceſs rouſed Hortenſius from his lethargy, eſpecially when he ſaw him promoted to the conſulate; fearing, no doubt, that now he was equal to him in dignity, he would ſurpaſs him in merit. They afterwards pleaded together for twelve years, lived in great unity, and had an eſteem for one another, each exalting the other much above himſelf. But the public gave the preference to Cicero without heſitation.

(*e*) The latter orator tells us the reaſon why Hortenſius was more agreeable to the public in his youth, than in his advanced years. He gave into a florid kind of eloquence, enriched with happy expreſſions; a great beauty and delicacy of thought, which was often more ſhining than ſolid; an uncommon correctneſs, juſtneſs, and elegance. His diſcourſes thus laboured with infinite care and art, ſupported by a muſical voice, an agreeable action, and an exquiſite utterance, were extremely

(*d*) Itaque, cum jam pene evanuiſſet Hortenſius, et ego conſul factus eſſem, revocare ſe ad induſtriam cœpit: ne, cum pares honore eſſemus, aliqua re ſuperior viderer. Sic duodecim poſt meum conſulatum annos in maximis cauſis, cum ego mihi illum, ſibi me ille anteferret, conjunctiſſime verſati ſumus. Brut. n. 313.

(*e*) Si quærimus cur adoleſcens magis floruerit dicendo, quam ſenior, Hortenſius: cauſas reperiemus veriſſimas duas. Primum, quod genus erat orationis Aſiaticum, adoleſcentiæ magis conceſſum, quam ſenectutis. —Itaque Hortenſius hoc genere florens, clamores faciebat adoleſcens.—Erat in verborum ſplendore elegans, compoſitione aptus, facultate copioſus.—Vox canora et ſuavis: motus et geſtus etiam plus artis habebat quam erat oratori ſatis. Habebat illud ſtudium crebrarum venuſtarumque ſententiarum: in quibus erant quædam magis venuſtæ dulceſque ſententiæ, quam aut neceſſariæ, aut interdum utiles. Et erat oratio cum incitata et vibrans, tum etiam accurata et polita.—Etſi genus illud dicendi auctoritatis habebat parum, tamen aptum eſſe ætati videbatur. Et certe, quod ingenii quædam forma lucebat.—ſummam hominum admirationem excitabat. Sed cum jam honores, et illa ſenior auctoritas gravius quiddam requirerent; remanebat idem, nec dicebat idem. Quodque exercitationem ſtudiumque dimiſerat, quod in eo fuerat acerrimum, concinnitas illa crebritaſque ſententiarum priſtina manebat, ſed ea veſtitu illo orationis, quo conſueverat, ornata non erat. Brut. 325, 326, 327, et 330.

tremely pleaſing in a young man, and at firſt engroſſed the applauſe of all men. But afterwards this kind of gay eloquence became unſeaſonable, becauſe the weight of the public employments he had paſſed through, and the maturity of his years, required ſomething more grave and ſerious. He was always the ſame orator, had always the ſame ſtile, but not the ſame ſucceſs. Beſides, as his ardor for ſtudy was very much abated, and he did not take ſo much pains as formerly, the thoughts which till then had brightened his pieces, having no longer their former embelliſhment, but appearing with a negligent air, loſt moſt of their ſplendor, and by that means made the orator ſink very much in his reputation.

REFLECTIONS

Upon what has been ſaid on this Subject.

The bare relation I have made of the conduct of the greateſt orators of antiquity, will ſufficiently point out to youth deſigned for the bar, the path they are to follow, if they propoſe to attain the ſame end.

1. The firſt and principal thing they muſt do, is to form a grand idea of their profeſſion. For though it does not now lead to the chief employments in the ſtate, as formerly at Athens and at Rome; yet what eſteem does it not gain thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves in it, either in pleading or giving counſel? (*f*) Can any

(*f*) Quid eſt præclarius, quam honoribus et reip. muneribus perfunctum ſenem, poſſe ſuo jure dicere idem, quod apud Ennium dicat ille Pythius Apollo, ſe eum eſſe, UNDE ſibi, ſi non
POPULI ET REGES, at omnes ſui cives CONSILIUM EXPETANT,
SUARUM RERUM INCERTI: QUOS EGO MEA OPE EX INCERTIS CERTOS, COMPOTESQUE CONSILII
DIMITTO, UT NE RES TEMERE TRACTENT TURBIDAS
Eſt enim fine dubio domus juriſconſulti totius oraculum civitatis. 1. de Orat. n. 166, 200.

Ullane tanta ingentium opum ac magnæ potentiæ voluptas, quam ſpectare h mines veteres et ſenes, et totius urbis gratia ſubnixos, in ſumma omnium rerum abundantia, confitentes id quod optimum ſit ſe non habere? Dial. de Orat. n. 6.

any thing delight a private man more, than to ſee his houſe frequented by perſons of the greateſt rank, and even by princes, who in all their doubts and neceſſities reſort to him as to an oracle, to pay homage to his profeſſion and extraordinary abilities, and to acknowledge a ſuperiority of learning and prudence, which riches and grandeur cannot beſtow? Is there any finer ſight than to ſee a numerous auditory attentive, immoveable, and, as it were, hanging on the lips of a pleader, who manages ſpeech, ſeemingly common to all, with ſo much art, that he charms and raviſhes the minds of his hearers, and makes himſelf abſolute maſter over them? But beſides this glory, which would be trifling enough, were there no other motive; what ſolid joy is it for a virtuous man to think he has received a talent from God, which makes him the ſanctuary of the unfortunate, the protector of juſtice; and enables him to defend the lives, fortunes, and honours of his brethren?

2. A natural conſequence of this firſt reflection, is, that thoſe deſigned for the bar ſhould prepare themſelves for a profeſſion of ſuch great importance, and imitate, at leaſt at a diſtance, the paſſion and indefatigable warmth of Demoſthenes and Cicero. (*g*) I am convinced, that a genius is the firſt and moſt neceſſary quality for a pleader; but I am alſo certain, that ſtudy is of great ſervice. 'Tis like a ſecond nature; and if it does not impart a genius to him who had none before, it, however, rectifies, poliſhes, improves, and invigorates it. And Cicero had great reaſon to inſiſt very much upon this article, and to aſſert, that every thing in eloquence depends on the care, the pains, the application and vigilance of the orator.

3. The

(*g*) Cum ad inveniendum in dicendo tria ſint, acumen, ratio, diligentia: non poſſum equidem non ingenio primas concedere: ſed tamen ipſum ingenium diligentia etiam ex tarditate incitat. . . . . Hæc præcipue colenda eſt nobis: hæc ſemper adhibenda: hæc nihil eſt quod non aſſequatur. . . . Reliqua ſunt in cura, attentione animi, cogitatione, vigilantia, aſſiduitate, labore: complectar uno verbo, quo ſæpe jam uſi ſumus, diligentia; qua una virtute omnes virtutes reliquæ continentur. 2. De Orat. n. 147, 148, 150.

3. The knowledge of the law, and its different cuſtoms, form properly the ſcience of the lawyer; and to pretend to plead without thoſe advantages, is to attempt the raiſing of a great building, without laying a foundation.

4. The talent of ſpeaking, conſtitutes an orator; it is, as it were, the inſtrument which enables him to make uſe of all the reſt. But, in my opinion, it is not enough cultivated. Whether it be the effect of idleneſs, or a confidence in ourſelves, we generally think genius alone will enable us to excel in it. But Cicero is of another opinion. His endeavours to attain perfection in this particular, would ſeem incredible, did not he himſelf atteſt it in ſeveral places. He ſhould be the model to youth in this and every thing elſe. To imbibe rhetoric from the very fountain, to conſult able maſters, to read carefully the ancients and moderns, to be conſtantly employed in compoſing and tranſlating, and to make his language a particular ſtudy: theſe were the exerciſes which Cicero thought neceſſary to form the great orator.

5. But of all the qualifications of an orator, action and utterance are the moſt neglected; and yet nothing contributes more towards giving ſucceſs to ſpeeches. (*b*) That external eloquence, as Cicero calls it, which is adapted to the capacities of all auditors, in regard it ſpeaks to the ſenſes only, has ſomething ſo enchanting and dazzling, that it often ſupplies the place of every other merit, and ſets a lawyer of no great parts above thoſe of the greateſt abilities. (*i*) Every one has heard the celebrated anſwer of Demoſthenes, concerning the qualification which he thought moſt neceſſary in an orator,

(*b*) Eſt actio quaſi corporis quædam eloquentia. Nam et infantes, actionis dignitate, eloquentiæ ſæpe fructum tulerunt: et diſerti, deformitate agendi, multi infantes putati ſunt. Orat. n. 55, 56.

(*i*) Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hac ſummus orator eſſe in numero nullo poteſt: mediocris, hac inſtructus, ſummos ſæpe ſuperare. Huic primas dediſſe Demoſthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo eſſet primum: huic ſecundas, huic tertias. 3. De Orat. n. 213.

orator, the want whereof could leaſt be concealed, and which at the ſame time was beſt adapted to conceal the reſt. This induced him to make incredible efforts to ſucceed in it. Cicero imitated him in that, as in every thing elſe; and he was in ſome meaſure obliged to it, from the deſire he had to equal Hortenſius, who excelled in that particular. The example of both, ought to have great weight with young lawyers.

6. A great many of theſe, in my opinion, want a certain quinteſſence of polite literature, and erudition, which embelliſh however, and enrich the underſtanding vaſtly, and diffuſe a delicacy and beauty over diſcourſe, which it can have from no other ſource. The reading of ancient authors, the Greeks, eſpecially, is very much neglected. How cloſely did Cicero ſtudy them! Orators, poets, hiſtorians, philoſophers; he was acquainted with them all, and made them all of ſervice to him; and the latter more than the reſt. Young lawyers ought not to attempt pleading too ſoon, but ſhould employ their time, at their firſt ſetting out, in acquiring a valuable and neceſſary fund of knowledge, which cannot be attained afterwards. I own the practice of the bar is the beſt maſter, and moſt capable of making them great lawyers: but it ſhould not conſiſt, at firſt, in frequent pleading. There, we liſten aſſiduouſly to great orators, we ſtudy their genius, we obſerve their action, we are attentive to the opinions which the learned give of them; and thus we endeavour to improve equally by their perfections and defects.

7. If it ſhould be aſked, What is the proper age for being called to the bar, and pleading at it? I anſwer, that 'tis a thing which cannot be brought to any fixed rule; and Quintilian's advice upon this matter is very prudent. (*k*) "A medium, ſays he, muſt be obſerved; "ſo

(*k*) Modus mihi videtur quidam tenendus, ut neque præpropere diſtringatur immatura frons, et quicquid eſt illud adhuc acerbum proferatur. Nam

" ſo that a youth ſhould not expoſe himſelf in public,
" before he is capable of doing it with advantage; nor
" make a parade of his knowledge, whilſt 'tis crude
" and undigeſted, if I may uſe the expreſſion: for by
" that means he will deſpiſe pains and ſtudy; impu-
" dence takes deep root in him; and, what is a greater
" misfortune, confidence and boldneſs precede vigour
" and ſtrength. But he muſt not, on the other hand,
" wait till he grows old; for then he will grow more
" timid every day; and the longer he delays, the more
" fearful he will be to venture to ſpeak in public: ſo
" that, whilſt he is deliberating whether it is time to
" begin, he finds it is too late."

8. It were very much to be wiſhed, that the cuſtom, obſerved formerly among the Romans, ſhould take place among us; and that the houſes of old lawyers ſhould be, as it were, the ſchool of the youth deſigned for the bar. What can be more worthy a great orator, than to conclude the glorious courſe of his pleading, by ſo honourable a function?

We ſhall ſee, ſays Quintilian, a whole company of ſtudious young people frequenting his houſe, and conſulting him upon the proper methods of ſpeaking. He forms them, as though he were the father of eloquence; and, like an old experienced pilot, points out to them the courſe they are to ſteer, and the rocks they muſt ſhun, when he ſees them ready to ſet ſail.

ARTI-

Nam inde et contemptus operis innaſcitur, et fundamenta jaciuntur impudentiæ, et (quod eſt ubique perniciosiſſimum) prævenit vires fiducia. Nec rurſus differendum eſt tyrocinium in ſenectutem. Nam quotidie metus creſcit, majuſque fit ſemper quod auſuri ſumus: et dum deliberamus quando incipiendum ſit, incipere jam ſerum eſt. Quintil. l. 12. c. 6.

(*l*) Frequentabunt ejus domum optimi juvenes more veterum; et veram dicendi viam velut ex oraculo petent. Hos ille formabit quaſi eloquentiæ parens, et, ut vetus gubernator, littora, et portus, et quæ tempeſtatum ſigna, quid ſecundis flatibus, quid adverſis ratis poſcat, docebit. Quint. l. 12. c. 11.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

Of the LAWYER'S MORALS.

I Did not think proper to conclude this little treatiſe on the eloquence of the bar, without ſaying ſomething of the lawyer's morals, and the chief qualifications requiſite to his profeſſion. Youth will find this ſubject treated in all the extent it deſerves, in the twelfth book of Quintilian's inſtitutions, which is the moſt elaborate and moſt uſeful part of his work.

I. PROBITY.

Cicero and Quintilian lay it down as an indiſputable principle, in ſeveral parts of their works, that eloquence ſhould not be ſeparated from probity; that the talent of ſpeaking well, ſuppoſes and requires that of living well; and that to be an orator, a man muſt be virtuous, agreeable to Cato's definition: *Orator vir bonus dicendi peritus.* (*m*) Without this, ſays Quintilian, eloquence, which is the moſt beautiful gift that nature can beſtow upon man, and by which ſhe has diſtinguiſhed him in a particular manner from other living creatures, would prove a fatal preſent to him; and be ſo far from doing him any ſervice, that ſhe would rather treat him as a ſtep-mother, and like an enemy rather than a mother, in imparting a talent to him for no other end, but to oppreſs innocence, and fight againſt truth, like the putting a ſword into the hands of a madman. It would be better, adds he, that a man ſhould be deſtitute of ſpeech, and

(*m*) Si vis illa dicendi malitiam inſtruxerit, nihil ſit publicis privatiſque rebus perniciosius eloquentia. . . . . Rerum ipſa natura, in eo quod præcipue indulſiſſe homini videtur, quoque nos à cæteris animalibus ſeparaſſe, non parens ſed noverca fuerit, ſi facultatem dicendi ſociam ſcelerum, adverſam innocentiæ, hoſtem veritatis invenit. Mutos enim naſci, et egere omni ratione ſatius fuiſſet, quam providentiæ munera in mutuam perniciem convertere. Quintil. l. 12. c. 1.

and even of reaſon, than to employ them to ſuch pernicious ends.

The ſlighteſt attention will diſcover how neceſſary honeſty is to a pleader. His whole deſign is to perſuade; (*n*) and the ſureſt way of effecting it, is to prepoſſeſs the judge in his favour, ſo that he may look upon him as a man of veracity and candour, full of honour and ſincerity; who may be entirely truſted; is a mortal enemy to a lie, and incapable of tricks and cunning. In his pleadings, he ſhould appear not only with the zeal of an advocate, but with the authority of a witneſs. The reputation he has acquired of being an honeſt man, will give great weight to his arguments: whereas, when an orator is diſeſteemed, or even ſuſpected by the judges, 'tis an unhappy omen to the cauſe.

II. Disinterestedness.

(*o*) The queſtion treated by Quintilian in the laſt book of his rhetoric, whether lawyers ought to plead without fees or gratuity, does not ſquare with the manners or cuſtoms of our days; but the principles he there lays down, ſuit all ages and times.

(*p*) He begins with declaring, that it would be infinitely more noble and becoming ſo honourable a profeſſion, not to ſell their ſervice, nor debaſe the merit of ſo great a benefit, ſince moſt things may ſeem contemptible, when a price is ſet upon them.

(*q*) He afterwards owns, that if a lawyer has not eſtate

(*n*) Plurimum ad omnia momenti eſt in hoc poſitum, ſi vir bonus creditur. Sic enim continget, ut non ſtudium advocati videatur afferre, ſed pene teſtis fidem. Quint. l. 4. c. 1.

Sic proderit plurimum cauſis, quibus ex ſua bonitate faciet fidem. Nam qui, dum dicit, malus videtur, utique male dicit. L. 6. c. 3.

Videtur talis advocatus malæ cauſæ argumentum. L. 12. c. 1.

(*o*) Quint. l. 12. c. 7.

(*p*) Quis ignorant quia id longe ſit honeſtiſſimum ac liberalibus diſciplinis et illo quem exigimus animo digniſſimum, non vendere operam, nec elevare tanti beneficii auctoritatem? cum pleraque hoc ipſo poſſint videri villa, quod pretium habent.

(*q*) At ſi res familiaris amplius aliquid ad uſus neceſſarios exigit, ſecundum omnes ſapientium leges patietur ſibi gratiam referri. . . . . Neque

eſtate enough of his own, he then is allowed, by the laws of all wiſe legiſlators, to accept ſome gratuity from the party he pleads for; ſince no acquiſition can be more juſt than that which proceeds from ſuch honeſt labour, and is given by thoſe for whom we have performed ſuch important ſervices; and who would certainly be very unworthy, if they failed to acknowledge them. Beſides, as the time which a lawyer beſtows upon other peoples affairs, prevents him from thinking of his own; 'tis not only juſt, but neceſſary he ſhould not loſe by his profeſſion.

(*r*) But Quintilian would have the lawyer, even in this caſe, keep within very narrow bounds; and be very watchful in obſerving the perſon from whom he receives any gratuity, together with the quantity, and time during which he receives it. By which he ſeems to inſinuate, that the poor ſhould be ſerved *gratis*, and that he ſhould take but moderately even from the rich: in fine, that the lawyer ſhould forbear receiving any gratuity, after he has acquired a reaſonable fortune.

(*s*) He muſt never look upon what his clients offer him, as though it were a payment or a ſalary, but as a mark of friendſhip and acknowledgment; well knowing he does infinitely more for them than they do for him; and he muſt make this uſe of it, becauſe a good office of that kind ought neither to be ſold nor loſt.

As

Neque enim video quæ juſtior acquirendi ratio, quam ex honeſtiſſimo labore, et ab iis de quibus optime meruerint, quique ſi nihil invicem præſtent, indigni fuerit defenſione. Quod quidem non juſtum modo, ſed neceſſarium etiam eſt, cum hæc ipſa opera, tempuſque omne alienis negotiis datum, facultatem aliter acquirendi recidant.

(*r*) Sed tum quoque tenendus eſt modus: ac plurimum refert et à quo accipiat, et quantum, et quouſque .... Nec quiſquam, qui ſufficientia ſibi (modica autem hæc ſunt) poſſidebit, hunc quæſtum ſine crimine ſordidum fecerit.

(*s*) Nihil ergo acquirere volet orator ultra quam ſatis erit: nec pauper quidem tanquam mercedem accipiet, ſed mutua benevolentia utetur, cum ſciat ſe tanto plus præſtitiſſe: quia nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.

(*t*) As to the cuſtom of making agreements with clients, and taxing them in proportion to the nature of the cauſe and the riſque they run; 'tis, ſays Quintilian, an abominable kind of traffic, fitter for a pirate than an orator, and which even thoſe, who have but a ſlender love for virtue, will avoid.

Far therefore from the bar, and ſo glorious a profeſſion, ſays he in another place, be thoſe mean and mercenary ſouls who make a trade of eloquence, and think of nothing but ſordid gain. The precepts, ſays he, which I give concerning this art, don't ſuit any perſon who would be capable of computing how much he ſhall gain by his labours and ſtudy.

If a heathen has ſuch noble ſentiments and expreſſions, how much more glorious and diſintereſted ſhould the views of a lawyer be, according to the principles of Chriſtianity? and indeed, we ſee this ſpirit prevail among the lawyers of France. They are ſo delicate in this point, as to debar themſelves from bringing any actions for payment of their fees; and this they carry ſo far, that they would diſown any member of their profeſſion, who would commence any ſuit, or retain his client's papers, in order to oblige him to make ſome acknowledgment for the aſſiſtance he had given him.

III. Delicacy *in the* Choice *of* Causes.

(*u*) As ſoon as we ſuppoſe the orator a worthy man, 'tis plain he can never undertake a cauſe he knows to be unjuſt. Juſtice and truth only have a right to the aſſiſtance

(*t*) Paciſcendi quidem illi piraticus mos, et imponentium periculis pretia procul abominenda negotiatio, etiam mediocriter improbis aberit.

Neque enim nobis operis amor eſt: nec, quia ſit honeſta atque pulcherrima rerum eloquentia, petitur ipſa, ſed ad vilem uſum et ſordidum lucrum accingimur. . . . Ne velim quidem lectorum dari mihi quid ſtudia referant computaturum. Quint. l. 1. c. 11.

(*u*) Non convenit ei quem oratorem eſſe volumus, injuſta tueri ſcientem. . . . . Neque defendet omnes orator: idemque portum illum eloquentiæ ſuæ ſalutarem, non etiam piratis patefaciet, duceturque in advocationem maxime cauſa. Quint. l. 12. c. 7.

aſſiſtance of his voice. Guilt has no title to it, what ſplendor or credit ſoever it may appear to have. His eloquence is a ſanctuary for virtue only, and a ſafe haven for all, except pirates.

(*u*) Before therefore a man diſcharges the function of a lawyer, let him perform that of a judge; let him raiſe a kind of domeſtic tribunal in his cloſet, and there carefully, and without prejudice, weigh and examine the arguments of his clients, and pronounce a ſevere judgment againſt them, in caſe it be neceſſary.

(*x*) If even, in the courſe of the affair, he happens, by a ſtricter inquiry into the title, to diſcover that the cauſe he undertook, ſuppoſing it honeſt, is unjuſt; he then muſt give his client notice of it, and not abuſe him any longer with vain hopes; and adviſe him not to proſecute a ſuit which would prove very fatal to him, even though he ſhould gain it. If he ſubmits to his advice, he will do him great ſervice; if he deſpiſes it, he is unworthy of any farther aſſiſtance from his lawyer.

IV. Prudence *and* Moderation *in* Pleading.

Theſe virtues are chiefly neceſſary on account of raillery. There are certain polite and becoming rules in this point, which every orator, and every gentleman ſhould obſerve inviolably. It is not neceſſary to remark, that it (*y*) would be inhuman to inſult people in diſgrace, when their very condition intitles them to compaſſion, and who beſides may be unfortunate, without being criminal. (*z*) In general, our raillery ſhould be inoffenſive; and

(*u*) Sic cauſam perſcrutatus, propoſitis ante oculos omnibus quæ proſunt noceantve, perſonam deinde induat judicis, fingatque apud ſe agi cauſam. Ib. c. 8.

(*x*) Neque vero pudor obſtet quominus ſuſceptam, cum melior videretur, litem, cognita inter diſceptandum iniquitate, dimittat, cum prius litigatori dixerit verum. Nam et in hoc maximum, ſi æqui judices ſumus, beneficium eſt, ut non fallamus vana ſpe litigantem. Neque eſt dignus opera patroni, qui non utitur conſilio. Ib. c. 7.

(*y*) Adverſus miſeros inhumanus eſt jocus.

(*z*) ‡ Lædere nunquam velimus, longeque abſit propoſitum illud, potius amicum quam dictum perdidi. L. 6. c. 4.

‡ *I am of opinion, that it ought to be read ſo inſtead of* ludere, *as it is in all the editions.*

and we muſt take care not to fall into the ſame error with thoſe, who would loſe a friend rather than a jeſt.

[*a*] There is nothing but moderation in uſing jeſts, and prudence in applying them, that diſtinguiſh an orator, in this reſpect, from a buffoon. The latter uſes them at all times, and without any occaſion: whereas the orator does it ſeldom, and always for ſome reaſon eſſential to his cauſe, and never barely to raiſe [*b*] laughter; which is a very trifling kind of pleaſure, and argues a mean genius.

[*c*] Repartees give occaſion ſometimes for delicate raillery; ſo much the more ſprightly, as it is conciſe; and as it flies in an inſtant like a dart, piercing almoſt before perceived. Theſe pleaſantries, which are neither ſtudied nor prepared, are much more graceful than thoſe we bring from our cloſets, and which often, for that very reaſon, appear frigid and puerile. Beſides, the adverſary has no reaſon to complain, becauſe he brought the raillery upon himſelf, and can impute it to nothing but his own imprudence. [*d*] *Why do you bark?* ſaid Philip one day to Cátulus, alluding to his name, and the great noiſe he made in pleading; *Becauſe I ſee a thief*, anſwered Catulus.

[*e*] Repartees of this kind require a great preſence and celerity

[*a*] Temporis ratio, et ipſius dicacitatis moderatio, et temperantia, et raritas dictorum, diſtinguet oratorem à ſcurra: et quod nos cum cauſa dicimus, non ut ridiculi videamur ſed ut proficiamus aliquid? illi totum diem, et ſine cauſa. 2 de Orat. n. 247.

[*b*] Riſum quæſivit: qui eſt, mea ſententia, vel tenuiſſimus ingenii fructus. Ibid. [*c*] Dicacitas poſita in hac veluti jaculatione verborum, et incluſa breviter urbanitate. Q. l. 6. c. 4.

Ante illud facete dictum hærere debet, quam cogitari poſſe videatur. 2. de Orat. n. 219.

Omnia probabiliora ſunt, quæ laceſſiti dicimus, quam quæ priores. Nam et ingenii celeritas major eſt quæ apparet in reſpondendo, et humanitatis eſt reſponſio. Videremur enim quieturi fuiſſe, niſi eſſemus laceſſiti. 2. de Orat n. 230.

Quæſita, nec ex tempore ficta, ſed domo allata, plerumque ſunt frigida. Orat. n. 89.

[*d*] Catulus, dicenti Philippo: QUID LATRAS? FUREM, inquit, VIDEO. De Orat. n. 220.

[*e*] Opus eſt imprimis ingenio veloci ac mobili, animo præſenti et acri. Non enim cogitandum, ſed dicendum ſtatim eſt, et prope ſub conatu adverſarii manus erigenda. Quint. l. 6. c. 5.

celerity of mind, if we may uſe the expreſſion; for they afford no time for reflection; and the blow muſt be given the inſtant we are attacked. But they require great prudence and moderation. [*f*] For how much muſt a man be maſter of his temper, to ſuppreſs even in the very heat of action and debate, a ſmart ſaying or joke which ſtarts up on a ſudden, and might do us honour; but would at the ſame time offend perſons whom we are obliged to treat with deference? The way to ſucceed in it, is to ſlight, and not pique ourſelves upon ſo dangerous a talent; and to acquire a habit of ſpeaking moderately and with caution, in converſation and common life.

If a lawyer is not allowed to uſe harſh and offenſive raillery, with how much more reaſon ought he to abſtain from groſs language? [*g*] This is an inhuman kind of pleaſure, unworthy of a gentleman, and which muſt neceſſarily diſguſt a prudent auditor. Yet ſome clients, often more ſolicitous to revenge than defend themſelves, extort this kind of eloquence from the orator; and are not pleaſed with him, if he does not dip his pen in the bittereſt gall. But who is the lawyer, if he has any ſentiments of honour or probity left, that would thus blindly gratify the ſpleen and reſentment of his client; become violent and paſſionate at his nod, and make himſelf the unworthy miniſter of another's fooliſh rage, from a ſordid ſpirit of avarice, or a miſtaken deſire of falſe glory?

V. *Wiſe Emulation remote from mean and low Jealouſy.*

No place, in my opinion, is more proper to excite and cheriſh a lively and prudent emulation than the bar. It is a great concourſe of people, in whom the

[*f*] Hominibus facetis et dicacibus difficillimum eſt habere hominum rationem et temporum, et ea quæ occurrant, cum ſalſiſſime dici poſſint, tenere. 2 de Orat. n. 221.

[*g*] Turpis voluptas, et inhumana, et nulli audientium bono grata; à litigatoribus quidem frequenter exigitur, qui ultionem malunt quam defenſionem. Hoc quidem quis hominum liberi modo ſanguinis ſuſtineat, petulans eſſe ad alterius arbitrium? . . . Orator à viro bono in tabulam latratoremque convertitur, compoſitus, non ad animum judicis, ſed ad ſtomachum litigatoris. Q. l. 12. c. 9.

the moſt valuable qualities are united; as beauty and force of genius, delicacy of wit, ſolidity of judgment, a refined taſte, a vaſt extent of knowledge, and long experience. There, we ſee combats fought every day between famous champions, in the preſence of learned and judicious magiſtrates, and amidſt an extraordinary concourſe of ſpectators, drawn thither by the importance of the affairs, and the reputation of the ſpeakers. There eloquence exhibits herſelf in every ſhape; in one, grave and ſerious; in another, ſprightly and gay; ſometimes, unprepared and negligent; at others, in her fineſt attire; and arrayed with all her ornaments; diffuſive or contracted, ſoft or ſtrong, ſublime and majeſtic, or more ſimple and contracted as cauſes vary. Not a ſingle word is there loſt; no beauty, no defect eſcape the attentive and intelligent auditors: and whilſt the judges on one hand, with the ſcale in their hands, in the preſence and in the name of Supreme Juſtice, determine the fate of private perſons; the public, on the other, in a tribunal no leſs inacceſſible to favour, determine concerning the merit and reputation of lawyers, and paſs a ſentence, from which there is no appeal.

Nothing, in my opinion, can raiſe the glory of the bar more, than to ſee ſuch a ſpirit of equity and moderation prevail in the body of lawyers, as gives every one his due, and baniſhes all jealouſy and envy, and that amidſt all thoſe exerciſes which are ſo capable of fomenting ſelf-love; and when the ancient lawyers, almoſt upon the point of quitting the liſts, in which they have been ſo frequently crowned, joyfully ſee a new ſwarm of young orators entering, in order to ſucceed them in their labours, and ſupport the honour of a profeſſion that is ſtill dear to them, and for which they cannot forbear intereſting themſelves; and when the latter, ſo far from ſuffering themſelves to be dazzled by their growing reputation, pays a great deference to their ſeniors, and reſpect them as their fathers and maſters: in a word, when the ſame emulation prevails among the young lawyers,

lawyers, which was ſeen formerly between Hortenſius and Cicero, of which the latter has left us a fine deſcription. (*b*) I was very far, ſays he, ſpeaking of Hortenſius, from looking upon him as an enemy, or a dangerous rival. I loved and eſteemed him as the ſpectator and companion of my glory. I was ſenſible how advantageous it was for me to have ſuch an adverſary, and the honour which accrued to me from having ſometimes an opportunity to diſpute the victory with him. Neither of us ever oppoſed the other's intereſt. It was a pleaſure to us to aſſiſt one another, by communicating our lights, giving advice mutually, and ſupporting each other by reciprocal eſteem; which had ſuch an effect, that each placed his friend above himſelf.

The bar therefore may be an excellent ſchool for young lawyers, not only with regard to eloquence, but to virtue, if they are capable of improving by the good examples it affords. They are young and unexperienced, and conſequently ought to determine little, but to hear and conſult very much. How great ſoever their underſtandings or abilities may be, they yet ought to be very modeſt. This virtue, which is the ornament of their age, at the ſame time that it ſeems to conceal, ſets off their merit the more. But above all, they ſhould ſhun that mean kind of jealouſy which is tortured at another's glory and reputation; that ought to (*i*) form the band of friendſhip and unity. They

(*b*) Dolebam quod non, ut plerique putabant, adverſarium aut obtrectatorem laudum mearum, ſed ſocium potius et conſortem glorioſi laboris amiſeram——Quo enim animo ejus mortem ferre debui, cum quo certare erat glorioſius, quam omnino adverſarium non habere? cum præſertim non modo nunquam ſit, aut illius à me curſus impeditus, aut ab illo meus, ſed contra ſemper alter ab altero adjutus et communicando, et monendo, et favendo. Brut. n. 2, 3.

Sic duodecim poſt meum conſulatum annos in maximis cauſis, cum ego mihi illum, ſibi me ille anteferret, conjunctiſſime verſati ſummus. Ibid. n. 223.

(*i*) Æqualitas veſtra, et artium ſtudiorumque quaſi finitima vicinitas, tantum abeſt ab obtrectatione invidiæ, quæ ſolet lacerare pleroſque, uti ea non modo non exulcerare veſtram gratiam, ſed etiam conciliare videntur. Brut. n. 156.

muſt, I ſay, ſhun jealouſy, as the moſt ſhameful of vices, the moſt unworthy a man of honour, and the greateſt enemy to ſociety.

SECTION IV.

Of the ELOQUENCE *of the* PULPIT.

SAINT AUSTIN, in his excellent work, called *the Chriſtian Doctrine*, which we cannot recommend too much to the profeſſors of rhetoric, diſtinguiſhes two things in the Chriſtian orator; what he ſays, and his manner of ſaying it; the things in themſelves, and the method of diſcuſſing them, which he calls *ſapienter dicere, eloquenter dicere.* I will begin with the latter, and conclude with the former.

FIRST PART.

Of the Manner in which a PREACHER *ought to deliver himſelf.*

(*k*) Saint Auſtin, purſuant to Cicero's plan of the duties of an orator, tells us they conſiſt in inſtructing, pleaſing, and moving the paſſions. 'Dixit quidam elo-'quens, et verum dixit, ita dicere debere eloquentem, 'ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat (*l*). He repeats the ſame thing in other terms, ſaying, the Chriſtian orator muſt ſpeak in ſuch a manner as to be heard 'intelli-'genter, libenter, obedienter;' viz. that we ſhould comprehend what he ſays, hear it with pleaſure, and conſent to what he would perſuade us. (*m*) For preaching has three ends: That the truth ſhould be known to us, ſhould be heard with pleaſure, and move us. 'Ut veritas pateat, ut veritas placeat, ut veritas 'moveat.' I ſhall purſue the ſame plan, and go through the three duties of a Chriſtian orator.

I. DUTY

(*k*) De doctr. chr. l. 4. n. 27. (*l*) N. 30. (*m*) N. 61.

I. Duty *of a* Preacher.

To instruct, *and for that end to* speak clearly.

Since the preacher ſpeaks in order to inſtruct, and has equal obligations to all, to the ignorant and the poor, as much, and perhaps more than to the learned and the rich; his chief care ſhould be, to make himſelf clearly underſtood; every thing muſt contribute to this end; the diſpoſition, the thoughts, the expreſſion, and the utterance.

'Tis a vicious taſte in ſome orators, (*n*) to imagine they are very profound, when much is required to comprehend them. They do not conſider, that every diſcourſe which wants an interpreter, is a very bad one. (*o*) The ſupreme perfection of a preacher's ſtile ſhould be, to pleaſe the unlearned as well as the learned, by exhibiting an abundance of beauties for the latter, and being very perſpicuous for the former. But in caſe thoſe advantages cannot be united, (*p*) St. Auſtin would have us ſacrifice the firſt to the ſecond, and neglect ornaments, and even purity of diction, if it will contribute to make us more intelligible; becauſe it is for that end we ſpeak. This ſort of neglect, which requires ſome genius and art, as (*q*) he obſerves after Cicero, and which proceeds from our being more attentive to things than to words, muſt not, however,

(*n*) Tunc demum ingenioſi ſcilicet, ſi ad intelligendos nos opus ſit ingenio. Quintil. in proœm. l. 8. c. 2.

Otioſum (*or*, vitioſum) ſermonem dixerim, quem auditor ſuo ingenio non intelligit. Quintil. l. 8. c. 2.

(*o*) Ita et ſermo doctis probabilis, et planus imperitis erit. Ibid.

(*p*) Cujus evidentiæ diligens appetitus aliquando negligit verba cultiora, nec curat quid bene ſonet, ſed quid indicet atque intimet quod oſtendere intendit. Unde ait quidam, cum de tali genere locutionis ageret, eſſe in ea quandam diligentem negligentiam. Hæc tamen ſic detrahit ornatum, ut ſordes non contrahat. S. Auguſt. de doct. chriſt. l. 4. n. 24.

Melius eſt reprehendant nos grammatici, quam non intelligant populi. Id. in Pſal. cxxxviii.

(*q*) Indicat non ingratam negligentiam, de re hominis magis, quam de verbis, laborantis.——Quædam etiam negligentia eſt diligens. Orat. n. 77. & 78.

be carried ſo far as to make the diſcourſe low and grovelling, but only clearer and more intelligible.

St. Auſtin wrote at firſt againſt the Manichees, in a florid and ſublime ſtile; whence his writings were not intelligible to thoſe who had but a moderate ſhare of learning, at leaſt not without great difficulty. (*r*) Upon this he was told, that if he deſired to have his works more generally uſeful, he muſt write in the plain and common ſtile, which has this advantage over the other, that it is equally intelligible to the learned and the unlearned. The holy father received this advice with his uſual humility, and made proper uſe of it in the books he afterwards wrote againſt the heretics, and in his ſermons. His example ought to be a rule to all thoſe who are to inſtruct others.

As obſcurity is the fault which the preacher ſhould chiefly avoid, and that his auditors are not allowed to interrupt him, when they meet with any thing obſcure; (*s*) St Auſtin adviſes him to read in the eyes and countenances of his auditors, whether they underſtand him or not; and to repeat the ſame thing by giving it different turns, till he perceives he is underſtood; an advantage which thoſe cannot have, who by a ſervile dependence on their memories, learn their ſermons by heart, and repeat them as ſo many leſſons.

(*t*) That which generally occaſions obſcurity in diſcourſe, is our endeavouring to explain ourſelves always

(*r*) Me benevolentiſſime monuerunt: ut communem loquendi conſuetudinem non deſererem, ſi errores illos tam pernicioſos ab animis etiam imperitorum expellere cogitarem. Hunc enim ſermonem uſitatum et ſimplicem etiam docti intelligunt, illum autem indocti non intelligunt. De Gen. contra Manich. l. 1. c. 1.

(*s*) Ubi omnes tacent ut audiatur unus, et in eum intenta ora convertunt, ibi ut requirat quiſque quod non intellexerit, nec moris eſt, nec decoris: ac per hoc debet maxime tacenti ſubvenire cura dicentis. Solet autem motu ſuo ſignificare utrum intellexerit cognoſcendi avida multitudo: quod donec ſignificet, verſandum eſt quod agitur multimoda varietate dicendi: quod in poteſtate non habent, qui præparata et ad verbum memoriter retenta pronunciant. S. Aug de doct. chriſ. l. 4. n. 25.

(*t*) Cavenda, quæ nimium corripientes omnia ſequitur, obſcuritas; ſatiuſque eſt aliquid (rationi) ſupereſſe, quam deeſſe——Vitanda illa

ways with brevity and conciſeneſs. One had better ſay too much than too little. A ſtile that is every where ſprightly and conciſe, ſuch as that of Salluſt, or of Tertullian for inſtance, may ſuit works which are not intended to be ſpoken, and give the reader time and liberty to read them over and over again; but it is not proper for a ſermon, the rapidity of which might eſcape the moſt attentive auditor. (*u*) It muſt not even be ſuppoſed, that he is always ſo; and conſequently the diſcourſe ought to be ſo clear, as to reach even the moſt unattentive, in like manner as the ſun ſtrikes our eyes, without our thinking of it, and almoſt in ſpight of us. The ſupreme effect of this quality does not conſiſt in making ourſelves underſtood, but in ſpeaking in ſuch a manner that we cannot be miſunderſtood.

The NECESSITY *of* PERSPICUITY *in* CATECHISTS.

The neceſſity of the principle I have now laid down, appears in its greateſt evidence, with regard to the firſt inſtructions given to young people, which I look upon as a primary kind of preaching, more difficult than is generally imagined, and oftentimes more uſeful than the brighteſt and moſt laboured diſcourſes. 'Tis allowed that a catechiſt who teaches children the firſt elements of religion, cannot be too clear and intelligible. No thought or expreſſion ſhould fall from him above their capacities. Every thing ought to be adapted to their ſtrength, or rather to their weakneſs. We muſt ſay but few things to them, expreſs them clearly,

illa Salluſtiana (quanquam in ipſo virtutis locum obtinet) brevitas, et abruptum ſermonis genus, quod otioſum fortaſſe lectorem minus fallit, audientem tranſvolat, nec dum repetatur exſpectat. Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

(*u*) Idipſum in conſilio eſt habendum, non ſemper tam eſſe acrem auditoris intentionem, ut obſcuritatem apud ſe ipſe diſcutiat, et tenebris orationis inſerat quoddam intelligentiæ ſuæ lumen; ſed multis eum frequenter cogitationibus avocari, niſi tam clara fuerint quæ dicemus, ut in animum ejus oratio, ut ſol in oculos, etiamſi non intendatur, incurrat. Quare, non ut intelligere poſſit, ſed ne omnino poſſit non intelligere, curandum. Quint. l. 8. c. 2.

clearly, and repeat them often; we muſt not ſpeak haſtily, or with rapidity, but pronounce every ſyllable articulately; give them ſhort and clear definitions, and always in the ſame words; make the ſeveral truths evident to them by known examples, and familiar compariſons; ſpeak little to them, and make them ſpeak a great deal, which is one of the moſt eſſential duties of a catechiſt, and the leaſt practiſed; and above all, muſt call to mind the happy ſaying of Quintilian, (*x*) that a child's mind is like a veſſel with a narrow neck, in which no water will enter, if poured abundantly into it; whereas it fills inſenſibly, if the liquid be poured gently, or even by drops. The catechiſt muſt proceed gradually from theſe plain ſteps to ſomething ſtronger and more elevated, according to the proficiency he obſerves in the children; but he muſt always take care to adapt himſelf to their capacity, and their weakneſs; and to deſcend to them, becauſe they are not in a condition to raiſe themſelves to him.

This taſk, which is one of the moſt important in the eccleſiaſtical miniſtry, is not, generally ſpeaking, eſteemed or reſpected enough. People ſeldom prepare themſelves for it with the care it deſerves; and as the difficulty and importance of it are little known, we too often neglect the means which might facilitate its ſucceſs. Whoever takes this charge upon himſelf, ought to peruſe, with great attention, St. Auſtin's admirable treatiſe upon the method of inſtructing catechumens, in which that great man, after laying down excellent rules upon this point, vouchſafes to propoſe a plan of the beſt method (in his opinion) for inſtructing them in the principles of religion.

I think

(*x*) Magiſtri hoc opus eſt, cum adhuc rudia tractabit ingenia, non ſtatim onerare infirmitatem diſcentium, ſed temperare vires ſuas, et ad intellectum audientis deſcendere. Nam ut vaſcula oris anguſti ſuperfuſam humoris copiam reſpuunt, ſenſim autem influentibus, vel etiam inſtillatis, complentur; ſic animi puerorum quantum accipere poſſint videndum eſt. Nam majora intellectu velut parum aptos ad percipiendum animos non ſubibunt. Quint. l. 1. c. 3.

I think it would be of great advantage to form a general ſcheme or plan for catechiſing in pariſhes, to ſerve as a foundation for all the inſtructions neceſſary and regulate both the matter and diſpoſition; ſo that all the catechiſms might contain the ſame inſtructions, but treated in a more or leſs extenſive manner, as the children ſhould be more or leſs improved. Theſe catechiſms may be divided into three claſſes, the firſt for beginners, the ſecond for thoſe who have already received ſome inſtruction, and the third for ſuch as are more advanced, and are prepared for receiving the firſt communion, or have lately received it. I ſuppoſe children to continue in each claſs about two years; in which time, the plan I have now mentioned, be it what it will, is to be explained to them (for it is highly reaſonable to leave it to the choice and prudence of the perſon who is at the head of the catechiſts) always ſubjoining the catechiſm of the dioceſe. The matters ſhould at firſt be treated briefly, and in general terms, becauſe they are calculated for children. M. Fleury's catechiſm is excellent for beginners, and may be looked upon as the execution of the plan which St. Auguſtine gives us in his treatiſe. The ſame matters are repeated in the ſecond and third claſſes; but in a new method, which is always an improvement of that which preceded, by adding to it new lights, and more efficacious truths. Would not religion be thus taught thoroughly? I have ſeen ſome children, even among the poor, make ſurpriſingly clear reſponſes upon very difficult ſubjects, which could be owing to nothing but the maſter's order and method of teaching, and which ſhews that young people are capable of every thing when they are well inſtructed.

I own, that nothing is more tedious or diſtateful to a man of genius, who often has a great deal of vivacity, than thus to teach the firſt principles of religion to children, who very often want either capacity or attention. But muſt not others have had the ſame patience

tience with us, when they taught us the alphabet, orthography, and the joining of words; and when we ourſelves learnt the catechiſm? (*x*) Is it agreeable to a father, ſays St. Auſtin, to ſtammer out half words with his ſon, in order to teach him to ſpeak? Yet this gives him great pleaſure. Does not a mother take more delight in putting aliment into her infant's mouth ſuitable to its weak and tender condition, than to take the nouriſhment proper for herſelf? We muſt perpetually call to mind the tenderneſs of a hen who covers her young ones with her extended wings; and hearing their feeble cries, calls them with a faultering voice, in order to ſhelter them from the bird of prey, who unrelentingly ſnatches away ſuch as do not fly for ſafety to their mother's wings. (*y*) The love and charity of Chriſt, who vouchſafed to apply this compariſon to himſelf, has been infinitely more extenſive; and it was in imitation of him, that St. Paul (*z*) *made himſelf weak with the weak, in order to gain the weak; and had, for all the faithful, the gentleneſs and* (*a*) *tenderneſs of a nurſe and a mother.*

(*b*) This, ſays St. Auſtin, is what we muſt repreſent to ourſelves, when we are tired or diſguſted; when we are weary of deſcending to the *puerility* and weakneſs of children; and to repeat inceſſantly to them the moſt trite things and run them over a hundred times. It often happens, continues the ſame father, that we take a ſingular pleaſure in ſhewing friends newly arrived at the city we live in, whatever is beautiful, uncommon, or curious;

(*x*) Num delectat, niſi amor invitet, decurtata et mutilata verba immurmurare? Et tamen optant homines habere infantes quibus id exhibeant: et ſuavius eſt matri minuta manſa inſpuere parvulo filio, quam ipſam mandere ac devorarare grandiora. Non ergo recedat de pictore etiam cogitatio gallinæ illius, quæ languidulis pennis teneros fœtus operit, et ſuſurrantes pullos confracta voce advocat: cujus blandas alas refugientes ſuperbi, præda fiunt alitibus. De catech. rudib. c. 10. et. 12.

(*y*) Matt. xxiii. 37. (*z*) 1 Cor. ix. 22. (*a*) 1 Theſſ. ii. 7.

(*b*) Si uſitata, et parvulis congruentia ſæpe repetere faſtidimus——— ſi ad infirmitatem diſcentium piget deſcendere——— cogitemus quid nobis prærogatum ſit ab illo——*qui, cum in forma Dei eſſet, ſemetipſum exinanivit, formam ſervi accipiens.* Ibid. cap 10.

rious; and the ſweetneſs of friendſhip diffuſes a ſecret charm over things which would otherwiſe appear exceeding tireſome; and gives them, as to ourſelves, all the graces of novelty. (*c*) Why ſhould not charity produce the ſame effects in us that friendſhip does, eſpecially when the thing propoſed tends towards making God himſelf known to men who ought to be the end of all our knowledge, and of all our ſtudies?

I thought it my duty to enlarge a little upon the manner of framing catechiſms, which is not foreign to the end I propoſe to myſelf in this article, *viz.* of inſtructing youth in what relates to the eloquence of the pulpit. It is now time to proceed to the ſecond duty of preachers.

II. Duty *of a* Preacher.

To please, *and for that end, to* speak *in a* florid *and* polite Manner.

St. Auſtin recommends to the preacher, to endeavour firſt, and above all things, to be clear and perſpicuous; but he does not pretend he muſt confine himſelf to that only. He would not have truth diveſted of the ornaments of ſpeech, which it alone has a right to employ. (*d*) He would have human eloquence ſubſervient to the word of God; but not the word of God made the ſlave of human eloquence. It often happens, that we cannot reach the heart but through the underſtanding, and that in order to affect the one, we muſt pleaſe the other. (*e*) It is an extraordinary quality, in his opinion, to love and to ſearch in the words only the things themſelves, and not the words: but he owns, at the ſame time, that this quality is very uncommon;

(*c*) Quanto ergo magis delectari nos oportet, cum ipſum Deum jam diſcere homines accedunt, propter quem diſcenda ſunt, quæcunque diſcenda ſunt? Ibid. c. 12.

(*d*) Nec doctor verbis ſerviat, ſed verba doctori. De doct. chriſt. l. 4. n. 61.

(*e*) Bonorum ingeniorum inſignis eſt indoles, in verbis verum amare, non verba——Quod tamen ſi fiat inſuaviter, ad paucos quidem ſtudioſiſſimos ſuus pervenit fructus. Ibid. n. 26.

common; that in caſe truth is repreſented without ornaments, it will affect very few. (*f*) That ſpeech, like food, muſt be palatable in order to make it agreeable; and that in both, we muſt pay a regard to the delicacy of mankind, and gratify their taſte in ſome meaſure.

It was for the ſame reaſon, that the fathers of the church were far from forbidding thoſe who were called to the miniſtry of the word, the reading of ancient authors and profane learning. (*g*) St Auſtin declares, that all the truths found in heathen authors are our own, and conſequently, we have a right to claim them as our property, by taking them out of the hands of thoſe unjuſt poſſeſſors, in order to employ them to a better uſe. (*h*) He would have us leave to heathen writers their profane words and ſuperſtitious fictions, which every good Chriſtian ought to abominate, after the example of the Iſraelites, who by the command of God himſelf plundered Egypt of her gold and moſt precious garments, without touching their idols; and that we ſhould take from the heathen authors, thoſe truths we find in them, and which are, as it were, the ſilver, the gold, and ornaments of diſcourſe; and clothe our ideas with them, in order to make the one and the other ſubſervient to the preaching of the goſpel. (*i*) He cites a great number of fathers who made this uſe of them, in imitation of Moſes himſelf, who

(*f*) Sed quoniam inter ſe habent nonnullam ſimilitudinem veſcentes atque diſcentes, propter faſtidia plurimorum etiam ipſa, ſine quibus vivi non poteſt, alimenta condienda ſunt. Ibid.

(*g*) De doct. Chriſt. l. 2. n. 6.

(*h*) Sic doctrinæ omnes gentilium, non ſolum ſimulata et ſuperſtitioſa figmenta——quæ unuſquiſque noſtrum duce Chriſto de ſocietate gentilium exiens debet abominari atque devitare: ſed etiam liberales diſciplinas uſui veritatis aptiores, et quædam morum præcepta utiliſſima continent ——quæ tanquam aurum et argentum debet ab eis auferre chriſtianus ad uſum juſtum prædicandi evangelii. Veſtem quoque illorum——accipere atque habere licuerit, in uſum convertenda chriſtianum. De doct. chriſt. l. 2. n. 60.

(*i*) Nonne aſpicimus quanto auro et argento et veſte ſuffarcinatus exieret de Ægypto Cyprianus doctor ſuaviſſimus, et martyr beatiſſimus? Ib. n. 61. Vir eloquentia pollens et martyrio. S. Hieron.

who was carefully inſtructed in all the wiſdom of the Ægyptians.

St. Jerom treats the ſame topic more at large, in a fine letter, (*k*) where he juſtifies himſelf from the reproaches of his adverſaries, who imputed it as a crime in him, that he had employed profane learning in his writings. After pointing out ſeveral places in the ſcriptures, where heathen authors are cited, he makes a long enumeration of the eccleſiaſtical writers, who alſo made uſe of their teſtimonies, in defence of the Chriſtian religion. Among the holy writers he had named St. Paul, who quotes ſeveral paſſages from the Greek poets. (*l*) "And indeed, ſays he, he had learnt from the true "David the way of forcing the enemy's weapon out of "his own hand, in order to fight him; and to cut off "the head of the proud Goliah with his own ſword."

It were therefore much to be wiſhed, that thoſe who are deſigned for the pulpit ſhould begin by imbibing eloquence at its ſource, that is, from the Greek and Latin authors, who have been always looked upon as maſters in the art of ſpeaking. (*m*) The ſacred orator ſhould have learnt from them the diſtribution of the ſeveral ornaments of diſcourſe, and this not barely to pleaſe the auditor, much leſs to gain a reputation (motives which even heathen rhetoric thought unworthy its orator;) but in order to make truth more amiable to men, by rendering her more lovely; and to engage them by this kind of innocent allurement, to reliſh her holy ſweetneſs, and to

(*k*) Quæris cur in opuſculis noſtris ſecularium literarum interdum ponamus exempla, et candorem eccleſiæ Ethnicorum ſordibus polluamus. S. Hieron. epiſt. ad Magnum.

(*l*) Didicerat à vero David extorquere de manibus hoſtium gladium, et Goliæ ſuperbiſſimi caput proprio mucrone truncare. Ibid.

(*m*) Illud, quod agitur genere temperato, id eſt eloquentia ipſa delectet, non eſt propter ſeipſum uſurpandum, ſed ut rebus quæ utiliter honeſteque dicuntur——aliquanto promptius et delectatione ipſa elocutionis accedat, vel tenacius adhæreſcat aſſenſus.——Ita fit ut etiam temperati generis ornatu non jactanter, ſed prudenter utamur, non ejus fine contenti, quo tantummodo delectatur auditor: ſed hoc potius agentes, ut etiam ipſo ad bonum, quod perſuadere volumus, adjuvetur. S. Aug. de doct. chriſt. l. 4. n. 55.

to practiſe her ſalutary leſſons with greater diligence and ſincerity.

It is well known that St. Ambroſe's eloquence had this effect on St. Auſtin, though he was ſtill charmed with the beauties of profane eloquence. (*n*) That great biſhop preached the word of God to his people with ſo many charms and graces, that all his auditors were tranſported with a kind of divine enthuſiaſm. (*o*) St. Auſtin ſought only in the ſermons of that preacher the flowers of language, and not the ſolidity of ſenſe; but it was not in his power to ſeparate them. He thought to have opened his underſtanding and heart to the beauties of diction only; but truth entered at the ſame time, and ſoon gained an abſolute ſovereignty over him.

He himſelf made the ſame uſe of eloquence afterwards. We find the people were ſo raviſhed with his ſermons, that they beſtowed the utmoſt applauſes on them. He was however, very far either from ſeeking or affecting thoſe applauſes; for his humility was ſo great, that they really afflicted him, and made him fear the ſecret ſubtile contagion of that poiſoned vapour. (*p*) But whence ſhould ſuch frequent acclamations ariſe, but from this, *viz.* that truth, thus illuſtrated and placed in her utmoſt ſplendor by a truly eloquent man, charms and tranſports the mind of man?

I cannot here avoid exhorting my readers to peruſe M. Arnaud's little treatiſe, entitled, *Reflections on the Eloquence of Preachers.* He there refutes part of the preface which M. du Bois his friend had prefixed to his tranſlation of St. Auſtin's ſermons, in which he pretended

(*n*) Veni ad Ambroſium epiſcopum——cujus tunc eloquia ſtrenue miniſtrabat adipem frumenti tui——et ſobriam vini ebrietatem populo tuo. Confeſſ. l. 5. c. 13.

(*o*) Cum non ſatagerem diſcere quæ dicebat, ſed tantum quemadmodum dicebat audire——veniebant in animum meum ſimul cum verbis quæ diligebam, res etiam quas negligebam: neque enim ea dirimere poteram. Et dum cor aperirem ad excipiendum quam diſerte diceret, pariter intrabat et quam vere diceret. Ibid. c. 14.

(*p*) Unde autem crebro et multum acclamatur ita dicentibus, niſi veritas ſic demonſtrata, ſic defenſa, ſic invicta, delectat? De doct. chriſt. l. 4. n 59.

tended to ſhew, that moſt preachers followed a manner of preaching contrary to that of St. Auſtin, by making too much uſe of human eloquence, which he thought improper for ſermons. This preface had dazzled great numbers, and was very much applauded. But they were greatly aſtoniſhed, when M. Arnaud's little treatiſe appeared, to find that almoſt the whole preface was founded upon falſe principles and reaſonings. It may be of uſe, and agreeable at the ſame time, to compare theſe two treatiſes, by firſt reading the preface, in order to ſee if we can find any fault in it; and then by examining the refutation, to ſee whether it be juſt and ſolid, and ſupported by ſound arguments.

The principle I have laid down from St. Auſtin's rules, *viz.* That the Chriſtian orator may, and even ought to ſtrive to pleaſe the auditor, muſt be kept within certain limits, and requires ſome illuſtration. Two defects muſt be avoided in preaching; the one conſiſts in taking too much pains about the ornaments and graces of diſcourſe, and the other in neglecting them. I ſhall ſay ſomething of each.

FIRST DEFECT.

TAKING *too much* PAINS *about the* ORNAMENTS.

It is very blameable in a Chriſtian orator to endeavour more at pleaſing than inſtructing his auditors, and to be more ſolicitous about words than things; to rely too much on his labour and preparation; to enervate the force of the truths he is denouncing, by a puerile affectation of bright thoughts; in a word to adulterate and corrupt God's word, by a vicious mixture of trifling ornaments.

(*q*) St. Jerom, whoſe taſte for eloquence and the graces of diſcourſe are well known, could not ſuffer the

(*q*) Nolo te declamatorem eſſe et rabulam, garrulumque ſine retione. . . .

Verba volvere, et celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem ſui facere, indoctorum hominum eſt. S. Hieron. ep ad Nepot.

the Chriſtian orator, (neglecting to inſtruct himſelf and others in the very principles of religion) to employ himſelf only as a declaimer, to pleaſe people; nor that the auguſt eloquence of the pulpit, ſhould degenerate into a vain parade of words, fit for nothing more than to gain a little trifling applauſe. [r] St. Ambroſe was of the ſame opinion, and would baniſh abſolutely that kind of embroidery from preaching, whoſe only effect is to make thoughts more languid. *Auſer mihi lenocinia fucumque verborum, quia ſolent enervare ſententias.*

God tells us in Ezekiel, how much he deteſted the unhappy diſpoſition of the Iſraelites, [s] who inſtead of improving by the ſad predictions of his prophet, and being alarmed by them to their advantage, went to hear him only for diverſion ſake, as to a concert of muſic. How much would he have reproached the prophet himſelf, had he given occaſion for ſo ſhameful an abuſe, through any fault or neglect of his own, by endeavouring merely to gratify the ears of his auditors by a ſoft harmony and an empty ſound of words? This is the juſt character of ſermons, of which nothing remains but the unprofitable remembrance of the pleaſure they gave when ſpoke.

A certain heathen complained, that in his time theſe light graces of ſtile, which ought to be employed in ſubjects of a leſs grave and ſerious nature, had done a kind of violence to good ſenſe and reaſon; and poſſeſſed themſelves, as it were by force, even of the ſuits or cauſes in which the lives and fortunes of men were debated. [t] *In ipſa capitis aut fortunarum pericula irrupit voluptas.*

How much more ought this abuſe to be condemned in religious diſcourſes, in which the graveſt, and at the ſame time, the moſt awful ſubjects are handled? In which it is intended, for inſtance, to humble and intimidate the ſinner in order to his ſalvation, by repreſenting

[r] Comment. l. 8.

[s] Et es eis quaſi carmen muſicum, quod ſuavi dulcique ſono canitur: et audiunt verba tua, et non faciunt. Ezek. xxxiii. 32.

[t] Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

ſenting the horrors of death to be nearer him than perhaps he imagines; the cry of the blood of Chriſt Jeſus, which demands vengeance for having been ſo long profaned; the anger of a juſtly exaſperated God, ready to fall upon his head; and hell open under his feet, in order to ſwallow him up?

(*u*) Is a preacher excuſable, amidſt ſuch great truths as theſe, to employ himſelf wholly on an empty pomp of elocution, to go in ſearch of bright thoughts, to make his periods harmonious, and to crowd a ſet of empty figures one upon the other? What becomes in the mean time of that grief and ſadneſs which ought to pierce his ſoul whilſt he is diſcourſing on ſuch ſubjects, and which ought to make his whole diſcourſe one continued groan, as it were? Might we not juſtly be angry, ſhould the preacher endeavour to diſplay his genius, and had leiſure to act the fine ſpeaker, at a time when thunder and lightning only ſhould appear, and the moſt lively and animated emotions of the ſoul?

SECOND FAULT.

The being TOO NEGLIGENT *of the* ORNAMENTS *of* SPEECH.

Another fault in preaching, much more common than the former, and of infinitely worſe conſequence, is, the being too careleſs of the elocution; the not having a ſufficient reſpect for the auditory; the appearing before it without almoſt any preparation; the ſpeaking extempore whatever occurs, frequently without order, choice, or juſtneſs; and by this affected negligence, giving

(*u*) An quiſquam tulerit reum in diſcrimine capitis, decurrentibus periodis, quam lætiſſimis locis ſententiiſque dicentem?——Quò fugerit interim dolor ille?_Ubi lachrymæ ſubſtiterint? Unde ſe in medium tam ſecura obſervatio artium miſerit? Non ab exordio uſque at ultimam vocem continuus quidam gemitus, et idem triſtitiæ vultus ſervabitur?——Commoveatur ne quiſquam ejus fortunâ, quem tumidum ac ſui jactantem, et ambitioſum inſtitorem eloquentiæ in ancipiti ſorte videat? Non imo oderit reum verba aucupantem, et anxium de fama ingenii, et ſui eſſe diſerto vacet. Quint. l. 11. c. 1.

giving the hearers a diſtaſte and contempt for the word of God, which in itſelf is worthy of engaging the eſteem and awe of mankind, and ought to be their ſweeteſt conſolation, their moſt ſolid glory.

The aim and deſign which every worthy preacher propoſes in addreſſing himſelf to Chriſtians, is to perſuade, in order to incline them to virtue, and to give them an abhorrence for vice; but all do not employ the neceſſary means to thoſe great ends, nor ſtudy to ſpeak in a perſuaſive manner. It is this forms the difference between good and bad preachers. (*u*) The latter, ſays St. Auſtin, preach in a groſs, diſagreeable, and cold manner, *obtusè, deformiter, frigidè*, the former, with ingenuity, beauty, and ſtrength *acutè, ornatè, vehementer*.

The ſalvation of moſt Chriſtians, as well as their faith, depend on the word; but this word muſt be treated with art and ſkill, in order that the minds of people may be prepared to receive it. The ornament of ſpeech is one of the means conducive to this purpoſe; and the reaſon of it is very plain, *viz.* the author muſt not only hear what is ſpoke, but hear it willingly; (*x*) *volumus non ſolum intelligenter, verum etiam libenter audiri.* Now, how can he hear it willingly, unleſs he is induced by pleaſure: (*y*) "Quis tenetur ut audiat, ſi "non delectetur?—— (*z*) Quis eum (oratorem) velit "audire, niſi auditorem nonnulla etiam ſuavitate de-"tineat?" But this ornament of ſpeech is not incompatible with ſimplicity; for this ſimplicity muſt not be groſs, tedious, and diſtateful: (*a*) *Nolumus faſtidire etiam quod ſubmiſſe dicimus.* There is a medium between a far-fetched, florid, luminous, and a low, grovelling, careleſs ſtile: and it is the medium between theſe, that ſuits the preacher. (*b*) "Illa quoque eloquentia ge-"neris temperati apud eloquentem eccleſiaſticum, nec "inornata relinquitur, nec indecenter ornatur."

Chriſtians

(*u*) De doct. Chriſt. l. 4. n. 7. (*x*) N. 56. (*y*) N. 58.
(*z*) N. 56. (*a*) Ibid. (*b*) N. 57.

Chriſtians would know much more than they do, were they to frequent regularly their pariſh churches, which they are more indiſpenſibly obliged to do than is generally imagined; and were ſermons written and delivered as they ought to be, which is a duty no leſs incumbent on the preacher. What affliction, what grief muſt thoſe feel, who have ſome idea of the importance of this miniſtry, to ſee their churches generally empty, or very thin; eſpecially if they are conſcious that it is their cold, languid, tireſome and often long-winded manner of ſpeaking, which prevents their pariſhioners from coming to hear them? Hereby they are wanting in the moſt important duty of their function; they deceive the expectations of their hearers, who run eagerly in order to ſupply their neceſſities, but are obliged to return empty. They degrade the word of God by their careleſs delivery, and cauſe it to be looked upon with contempt and diſtaſte. They diſhonour the Divine Majeſty whoſe (*c*) ambaſſadors they are; and do not conſider, that, ſhould the envoy of an earthly monarch behave in this manner, he would be juſtly looked upon by his ſovereign as a prevaricator.

They are far from obſerving the conduct of that Greek * orator, who never ſpoke in public till he had duly prepared himſelf for it; and beſought the gods before he came out of his houſe, not to ſuffer one word to fall from him unworthy of his auditors: or of that Roman orator, who, though ſo eminent, declares, (*d*) that he never pleaded any cauſe, till after he had taken all the pains requiſite for that purpoſe. I dare not tranſlate the words which Quintilian (*e*) levels againſt that lawyer, who ſhould be wanting in this duty, ſo eſſential to his profeſſion, but which is much

(*c*) Legatione fungimur. * Pericles.

(*d*) Ad illam cauſarum operam nunquam niſi paratus et meditatus accedo. L. 1. de leg. n. 12.

(*e*) Afferet ad dicendum curæ ſemper quantum plurimum poterit. Neque enim ſolum negligentis, ſed et mali, et in ſuſcepta cauſa perfidi, ac proditoris eſt, pejus agere quam poſſit. Quint. l. 12. c. 9.

much more ſo to that of a miniſter of the word of God, on which the ſalvation of his hearers depends.

I am ſenſible, that the multitude of affairs, in which ſuch paſtors as are careful of their duty, muſt be engaged, allow them but very little time to prepare their ſermons. But we are not here treating of pieces of eloquence, laboured and poliſhed with the utmoſt care; which requires a long application, and conſequently a complete leiſure. The preacher, who, beſides a natural genius, has ſome learning; and who joins to theſe qualities a ſtrong zeal for the ſalvation of Chriſtians, never fails of ſucceſs; and is ſure of applauſe, when he lays down his diſcourſe with order, delivers ſolid and pathetic things, corroborates them by texts of ſcripture, and obſerves not to make his diſcourſe too long. Such a preparation as this (and it is indiſpenſible) does not take up a vaſt deal of time.

Is any part of the miniſterial function more important, more neceſſary, more worthy of the paſtoral zeal, than the care of the poor, and that of adminiſtering the ſacraments? (*f*) Nevertheleſs we ſee, on one ſide, that the apoſtles, when aſſembled to remedy the complaints which the diſtribution of the alms had occaſioned among the faithful, think themſelves obliged to lay aſide this ſo holy duty, rather than to leave off preaching the word of God, for which they were expreſly commanded to poſtpone every thing elſe; and on the other ſide, when St. Paul, ſo well inſtructed in the duty of an apoſtle, and ſo indefatigable in his labours, declares expreſly, (*g*) *that Chriſt ſent him not to baptize, but to preach the goſpel.* Preaching is therefore the chief function of apoſtles, biſhops, and paſtors of every denomination; to which they ought to apply themſelves with all the vigour they are capable of, removing with an inflexible ſeverity, whatever is incompatible with this firſt and moſt eſſential of their duties.

This

(*f*) Acts vi. 2. (*g*) 1 Cor. i. 17.

This precept and example has been given us by all thoſe great ſaints, whoſe learned and eloquent diſcourſes have done ſo much honour to the Chriſtian world, though moſt of them poſſeſſed the higheſt dignities in the church, and were vigilant in defending it againſt hereſies.

(*h*) St. Gregory Nazianzen, though he deſpiſed the diſpoſition of words, and thoſe empty delicacies which only pleaſe the ear, was yet very far from neglecting what might be of uſe to elocution, (*i*) as he obſerves more than once. * I have reſerved, ſays he, eloquence only; and I do not repent the pains and fatigue I have ſuffered by ſea and land, in order to attain it; I could wiſh for my own and my friends ſakes, that we poſſeſſed all the force of it... (*k*) This alone remains of what I once poſſeſt, and I offer, devote and conſecrate it to my God. The voice of his command, and the impulſe of his Spirit, have made me abandon all things beſide, to barter all I was maſter of, for the precious ſtone of the goſpel. Thus then I am become, or rather I wiſh ardently to become, that happy merchant, who exchanges contemptible and periſhable goods, for others that are excellent and eternal. But being a miniſter of the goſpel, I devote myſelf ſolely to the art of preaching: I embrace it as my lot, and will never forſake it... (*l*) In another place, he thanks his flock, in that their incredible ardour for the word of God, was his conſolation againſt the injurious and malicious diſcourſes vented by his enemies againſt his eloquence, which he indeed had acquired by the ſtudy of profane authors; but had raiſed and ennobled by the ſtudy of the ſacred writings, and by the vivifying wood of the croſs, which had taken away all its bitterneſs. He adds, that he is not of opinion with many others, who would have people be contented with a dry, ſimple, unadorned, flat diſcourſe; who cover

(*h*) Orat. 15. (*i*) Orat. 3.

* St. Gregory Nazianzen had undertaken ſeveral voyages, purpoſely to ſtudy eloquence under the ableſt maſters.

(*k*) Orat. 12. (*l*) Orat. 27.

cover their lazineſs or ignorance with a contemptuous diſdain of their adverſaries; and pretend therein to imitate the apoſtles; not conſidering that miracles and prodigies were to them inſtead of eloquence.

(*m*) St. Ambroſe, in the very place where he exhorts preachers to make their diſcourſes pure, ſimple, clear, weighty and ſolid, adds, that as they muſt not be affectedly elegant, ſo neither muſt they be devoid of beauties and graces. And he himſelf always practiſed what he inculcated to others.

Was ever paſtor more employed, or more devoted to good works than St. Auſtin? (*n*) But then his zeal, no leſs enlightened than fervent, did not engroſs any part of the time requiſite for preparing what was neceſſary for the inſtruction of the faithful. One would conclude, that at firſt his ſermons were written down, and got by heart; becauſe he then had more leiſure, and more occaſion to uſe this precaution. Afterwards, he contented himſelf with ſearching for the ſenſe of ſuch paſſages of ſcripture as he intended to explain; to diſplay the truths they contained, and to find out texts to ſupport and illuſtrate them; which reſearch, and his preaching, coſt him no little pains, as he himſelf tells us in the concluſion of his fourth diſcourſe on the ciii. Pſalm. "Magno labore quæſita et in-"venta ſunt, magno labore nunciata et diſputata ſunt: "ſit labor noſter fructuoſus vobis, et benedicat anima "noſtra Dominum." The inſatiable ardour with which his auditors uſed to hear him, is a manifeſt proof that he was a very able preacher; was very laborious in preparing, and careful in the delivery of his ſermons.

I have purpoſely reſerved St. Chryſoſtom for the laſt, becauſe none of the fathers have inſiſted more on the ſubject in queſtion, than he has done. In his beautiful diſcourſe on the prieſthood, which is juſtly conſidered as his maſter-piece, he lays it down as an incon-

(*m*) Oratio ſit pura, ſimplex, dilucida atque manifeſta, plena gravitatis et ponderis: non affectata elegantia, ſed non intermiſſa gratia. Offic. lib. 1. cap. 22.

(*n*) Epiſt. lxxiii.

inconteſtible principle, that the chief duty of biſhops, and conſequently of all paſtors, conſiſts in the inſtruction delivered from the pulpit: becauſe by that alone, they are enabled to teach Chriſtians the truths of religion, to inſpire them with a love for virtue, draw them out of the paths of vice; and ſupport them in the ſevere trials they muſt undergo, and the combats they muſt daily ſuſtain againſt the enemies of their ſalvation. Without this ſupport, a poor church may be compared to a city attacked on all ſides, and without defence; or to a ſhip driven by ſtorms, and without a pilot. The word in the mouth of a paſtor, is like a ſword in the hand of a warrior; but this ſword muſt be managed with art and dexterity; or to ſpeak more plainly, (*o*) a paſtor muſt very aſſiduouſly prepare the ſermons and other diſcourſes he is obliged to deliver in public; and muſt uſe his utmoſt efforts to acquire this talent, ſince on it depends the ſalvation of moſt of the ſouls committed to his care.

But here it will be objected; If this be true, why did St. Paul neglect the acquiring this talent; and why did he not ſcruple to own, that (*p*) *he was rude in ſpeech*, and that too in writing to the Corinthians, who ſet ſo high a value upon eloquence?

This expreſſion, ſays St. Chryſoſtom, the ſenſe and depth of which has not been diſcovered, has deceived multitudes, and by them been made uſe of as a handle to vindicate their own ſloth. If St. Paul was ignorant, as you ſay, how came he to confound the Jews at Damaſcus, having not yet wrought any miracles? How was it poſſible for him to vanquiſh the Greeks in argument, and why did he not retire to Tarſus? Was it not after he had gained ſo complete a victory, by the power of his diſcourſe, that, unable to bear the ignominy of their defeat, they reſolved to put him to death? Of what did he make uſe in his conteſt with the citizens of Antioch, who were reſolved to embrace the Jewiſh ceremonies? Did

(*o*) Χρὴ τὸν ἱερέα πάντα ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταύτην κτήσασθαι τὴν ἰσχύν.
(*p*) Imperitus ſermone. 2 Cor. xi. 6.

Did not the ſenator of the Areopagus, who inhabited the moſt ſuperſtitious, and at the ſame time the moſt learned city in the world, and his wife, follow him, after hearing but one of his diſcourſes? How did that apoſtle employ his time in Theſſalonica, in Corinth, in Epheſus, and even in Rome itſelf? Did he not ſpend whole days and nights in explaining the ſacred writings? Need we relate his various diſputes with the Epicureans and Stoics? How audacious then muſt thoſe be, who after this would give the title of ignorant to St. Paul? He, whoſe diſputations and ſermons were univerſally admired; he, whom the Lycaonians imagined to be Mercury, undoubtedly becauſe of his eloquence?

It may happen, that paſtors full of zeal, charity, and at the ſame time very capable of preſiding over men, may however not be endowed with a talent for preaching, nor able to inſtruct their flock. In this caſe, the example of Valerius biſhop of Hippo, who becauſe he was not converſant in the Latin Tongue, made St. Auſtin preach for him and in his preſence, is a rule for them; and authorizes them to employ others in thoſe functions to which they themſelves are unequal. (*q*) Such country rectors as are not capable of compoſing ſermons, may have recourſe to books. There is purpoſely calculated for them, a ſet of ſhort and eaſy homilies adapted to the meaneſt capacities; theſe they may either read to their congregation, or get others to read for them.

St. Auſtin would not condemn this practice; (*r*) he being of opinion, that when a paſtor is not capable of writing a ſermon, he may get it done by another; and after learning it by heart, deliver it as though he himſelf were the author. The reaſon of which is,

(*q*) M. P. Abbé Lambert.

(*r*) Sunt quidam, qui bene pronunciare poſſunt, quid autem pronuncient excogitare non poſſunt. Quod ſi ab aliis ſumant eloquenter ſapienterque conſcriptum, memoriæque commendent, atque ad populum proferant: ſi eam perſonam gerunt, non improbe faciunt. De doct. Chriſt. lib. iv. n. 62.

is, that ſome method or other muſt be uſed to inſtruct the people.

III. Duty *of a* Preacher.

To affect *and* move *the* Paſſions *of his* Auditors *by the* Strength *of his* Diſcourſe.

Though we ought to ſet a high value on a diſcourſe, which is not only very perſpicuous, but graceful and eloquent; it muſt however be owned, that the great, the ſurpriſing effects of eloquence are not produced either from that of a ſimple and mediate, or of an embelliſhed and florid kind, but from the ſublime and pathetic. By the two former, the orator pleaſes and inſtructs; and he may be ſatisfied with producing theſe two effects, when he ſpeaks of ſpeculative truths which require only our belief and conſent; and regard the underſtanding, rather than the heart and affections, if we may admit any ſuch in religion. But it is not ſo when practical truths are propoſed, which are to be put in execution. And indeed, to what purpoſe would it be, ſhould the auditors be convinced of what he hears, and applaud the eloquence of the ſpeaker, if he did not love, embrace, and practiſe the maxims preached to him? In caſe the orator does not arrive at this third degree, he goes but half way; for he ought to pleaſe and inſtruct, only with the view of affecting. It is in this, St. Auſtin, after Tully, makes the complete victory of eloquence to conſiſt. Every diſcourſe that leaves the auditor calm, does not move and agitate him, and alſo deject, overthrow, and vanquiſh his obſtinate reſiſtance; how beautiful ſoever ſuch a piece may appear, it is not truly eloquent. The buſineſs is, to inſpire him with horror for his ſins, and with a dread of God's judgments; to remove the deluſive charm which blinds him, and to force open his eyes; to make him hate what he loved, and love what he hated; to root out from his heart his ſtrong darling,

ardent

ardent paſſions, of which he is no longer maſter, and which have gained an abſolute aſcendant over him; in a word, to urge, to force him from himſelf, from his deſires, his joys, and every thing that conſtitutes his felicity.

I am ſenſible that nothing but the all-powerful grace of Chriſt Jeſus can affect the heart in this manner, and create ſuch wonderful changes in it. To think otherwiſe, and to expect in ſome meaſure this effect from the efficacy of words, the graces of ſpeech, the ſolidity of arguments, or the ſtrength of expreſſions, would be, to ſpeak with St. Paul, to (*s*) annihilate the croſs of Chriſt, and diveſt him of the honour of converting the world, to aſcribe it to human wiſdom. (*t*) For this reaſon, St. Auſtin would have the Chriſtian orator rely much more on prayer than on his abilities; and before he ſpeaks to them, would have him addreſs the Creator, who only can inſpire him with what he ought to ſpeak, and the manner in which it is to be ſpoken. (*u*) But as we employ the natural remedies which phyſic preſcribes; though we are ſenſible that all their effect is owing to God, who is pleaſed to make them ſubſervient to our recovery, but without ſubjecting his power to theirs; in like manner, the Chriſtian orator may, and ought to employ all the methods, all the aſſiſtance which rhetoric can ſupply, but without putting his confidence in it; and in full perſuaſion,

(*s*) Miſit me Chriſtus evangelizare, non in ſapientia verbi, ut non evacuetur crux Chriſti. 1. Cor. i. 17.

(*t*) Noſter iſte eloquens ... hæc ſe poſſe, pietate magis orationum, quam oratorum facultate, non dubitet, ut orando pro ſe, ac pro illis quos eſt allocuturus, ſit orator, antequam dictor. ... Et quis facit ut quod oportet, quemadmodum oportet, et dicatur à nobis, niſi IN CUJUS MANU SUNT ET NOS ET SERMONES NOSTRI?

(*u*) Sicut enim corporis medicamenta, quæ hominibus ab hominibus adhibentur, non niſi eis proſunt, quibus Deus operatur ſalutem, qui et ſine illis mederi poteſt, cum ſine ipſo illa non poſſint, et tamen adhibentur ... ita et adjumenta doctrinæ tunc proſunt animæ adhibita per hominem, cum Deus operatur ut proſint, qui potuit evangelium dare homini etiam non ab hominibus, neque per hominem. S. Aug. de doctr. chr. l. 4. c. 15. et 16.

ſion, that it will be to no purpoſe for him to ſpeak to the ears, if God does not ſpeak to the heart.

Now it is the ſublime and pathetic ſtile, great and lively images, ſtrong and vehement paſſions, which force our aſſent and captivate the heart. (*u*) Inſtruction and arguments have enlightened and convinced the mind; the graces of ſpeech have won it, and by their ſeducing charms, have prepared the way to the heart. The next thing is, to enter and take poſſeſſion of it; but this is what only the grand, the powerful eloquence can effect. The reader may turn back to what was ſaid on this ſubject in the article of the ſublime. I ſhall now give ſome extracts from the fathers, which will be more inſtructive than any reflections I can make on this ſubject.

Extract *from* St. Austin.

(*x*) THIS illuſtrious ſaint employed the precepts of this triumphant eloquence on an important occaſion, which he himſelf has related. It was at Hippo, when he was but a private prieſt, and at the time that Valerius the biſhop had made him preach in his ſtead. The feſtival of St. Leontius biſhop of Hippo being nigh, the people murmured at their being hindered to celebrate it with the uſual rejoicings, that is, to aſſemble in the churches at feaſts, which degenerated into drunkenneſs and debauchery. St. Auſtin, knowing that the people murmured, began on Wedneſday, the eve of the Aſcenſion, to preach to them on that ſubject, upon occaſion of the goſpel of the day, in which theſe

(*u*) Oportet igitur eloquentem eccleſiaſticum, quando ſuadet aliquid quod agendum eſt, non ſolum docere ut inſtruat, et delectare ut teneat, verum etiam flectere ut vincat. Ipſe quippe jam remanet ad conſenſionem flectendus eloquentiæ granditate, in quo id non egit uſque ad ejus confeſſionem demonſtrata veritas, adjuncta etiam ſuavitate dictionis. Ibid. cap. 13.

(*x*) St. Auguſt. epiſt. 29. ad Alypium.

words were read: (*y*) "Give not that which is holy "unto the dogs, neither caſt ye your pearls before "ſwine."

As there were but few auditors at this diſcourſe, and that a great many among theſe were gainſayers, he ſpoke again on the ſame ſubject on the morrow, being Aſcenſion day, to a more numerous aſſembly, in which the goſpel of the buyers and ſellers, who were drove out of the temple, was read. He himſelf read it over again, and ſhowed how much more ſolicitous Chriſt would have been to baniſh diſſolute feaſts from the temple, than a traffic innocent in itſelf. He alſo read ſeveral other paſſages of ſcripture againſt drunkenneſs. He heightened his diſcourſe with groans, and the moſt lively marks of the deep ſorrow, in which his love for his brethren had plunged him: and after interrupting it by ſome prayers which he cauſed to be repeated, he again began to ſpeak with the utmoſt vehemence; ſetting before their eyes the general danger to which the common people were expoſed, as well as the prieſts, who are to render an account of their ſouls to the great paſtor. "I conjure you, ſays he, by his humiliations, "his ſufferings, his crown of thorns, his croſs, and his "blood, at leaſt have pity on us, and conſider the love "and charity of the venerable Valerius, who out of "tenderneſs for you, entruſted me with the formidable "miniſtry, to declare the word of God unto you. He "has often told you how overjoyed he was at my "coming hither: but his view in this was, that I might "be the miniſter of your ſalvation, and not of your "damnation." St. Auſtin added, that he hoped this would never come to paſs; and that in caſe they would not ſubmit to the authority of the Divine Word he had preached to them, they would yield to the chaſtiſements, which he did not doubt God would inflict upon them in this world, to prevent their being damned in the other. He ſpoke this in ſo affecting a manner, that he

(*y*) Matt. vii. 6.

he drew tears from his congregation, and could not refrain from weeping himſelf. "It was not, ſays he, "my weeping over them that drew tears from their "eyes; but whilſt I was ſpeaking, their tears prevented mine. I muſt confeſs that I was then melted. "After we had wept together, I began to have ſtrong "hopes of their amendment."

(z) The morrow, which was the feaſt-day, he was informed that ſome murmured, and cried, "What's "doing now? Were not thoſe who permitted this "cuſtom hitherto, Chriſtians?" (*a*) St. Auſtin, not knowing how to ſtagger them, was in great perplexity. He had reſolved to read to theſe obſtinate people that paſſage in (*b*) Ezekiel, where it is ſaid, that the centinel is diſcharged when he has given warning of the danger; and afterwards to ſhake his garments over the people, and to return home. However, God ſpared him this affliction; and the murmurers were no longer able to reſiſt ſo lively and eloquent a charity.

There is no doubt, but that the ſolidity and beauty of the diſcourſe, was of ſervice in preparing the way, and affecting the minds of his hearers; but a circumſtance which overthrew thoſe murmurers, and gained St. Auſtin a complete victory, was his blending the ſublime and pathetic, with that ſoftneſs and tenderneſs we have mentioned elſewhere. (*c*) The two others may procure acclamations; but the ſublime and pathetic bear down, as it were, every thing with their weight, and, inſtead of applauſes, force tears from the hearers.

(z) Cum illuxiſſet dies cui ſolebant fauces ventreſque ſe parare.

(*a*) Quo audito, quas majores commovendi eos machinas præpararem, omnino neſciebam. (*b*) Ezek xxxiii. 9.

(*c*) Non ſane, ſi dicendo crebrius et vehementius acclametur, ideo granditer putandus eſt dicere: hoc enim et acumina ſubmiſſi generis, et ornamenta faciunt temperati. Grande autem genus plerumque pondere ſuo voces premit, ſed lachrymas exprimit. S. Auguſt. de doctr. Chriſt. l. iv. cap. 24.

EXTRACT *from* St. CYPRIAN.

THE extract I here give, is borrowed from the beautiful epiſtle of this illuſtrious biſhop to Pope Cornelius, upon occaſion of thoſe perſons, who having fallen during the perſecution, demanded haughtily to be reſtored to the ſacraments, though they had not done the penance required on thoſe occaſions, and had even the boldneſs to employ menaces.

" If thoſe ſinners, ſays St. Cyprian, will be received " into the church, let us ſee what idea they have of " the ſatisfaction they ought to make; and what fruits " of repentance they bring. The church here is not " ſhut againſt any perſon: The biſhop does not reject " any one. We are ready to receive with patience, " indulgence, and mildneſs, all thoſe who preſent them- " ſelves before us. It is my deſire, that all return into " the church: It is my deſire, that all who fought " with us, ſhould rally under the ſtandards of Chriſt " Jeſus, and return to his heavenly camp, and into the " houſe of God his Father. I remit as much as I poſ- " ſibly can; I wink at a great many things, from the " ardent deſire I have to reunite our brethren to us. I " do not even examine, with all the ſeverity which pie- " ty and the Chriſtian religion require, ſuch offences as " have been committed againſt God; and I commit ſin " perhaps myſelf, in too eaſily remitting the ſins of " others. I embrace, with the ardour and the tender- " neſs of an entire charity, thoſe who return with ſen- " timents of penitence, thoſe who confeſs their ſins, " and atone for them with humility, and the ſimplicity " of heart. But if ſome think to enter again into the " church by threats, and not by prayers; and to force " open the doors of it by terror, and not to gain admit- " tance by atonement and tears; they are to know, " that the church is for ever ſhut againſt ſuch perſons;

" and

" and that the invincible camp of Chriſt Jeſus, fortifi-
" ed by the almighty power of God, who is the pro-
" tector of it, is not to be forced by human inſolence.
" The prieſt of the Lord who follows the precepts of
" the goſpel may be killed, but he cannot be overcome.
" *Sacerdos Dei evangelium tenens, et Chriſti præcepta*
" *cuſtodiens, occidi poteſt, non vinci.*"

In my opinion, this extract, which diſplays both the paternal mildneſs of a holy biſhop, and the invincible courage of a martyr, may be propoſed as a perfect model of the ſtrongeſt aud moſt ſublime eloquence, equal in every reſpect to that of Demoſthenes.

Extracts *from* St. John Chrysostom *againſt* Oaths.

SAINT Chryſoſtom, in his homilies to the inhabitants of Antioch, often exclaims againſt thoſe, who, for temporal intereſt, obliged their brethren to ſwear on the altar, and by that means often occaſioned their taking of falſe oaths. " (*d*) What are you doing,
" wicked wretch, ſays he? You require an oath on
" the holy table; and you ſacrifice cruelly your brother
" on the ſame altar where Jeſus Chriſt, who ſacrificed
" himſelf for you, lies? Thieves aſſaſſinate, but then
" they do it in ſecret; but you, in preſence of the
" church, our common parent, murther one of her
" children, in which you are more wicked than Cain;
" for he concealed his guilt in the deſart, and only de-
" prived his brother of a tranſitory life; but you plunge
" your neighbour into everlaſting death, and that in
" the midſt of the temple, and before the face of the
" Creator? Was then the Lord's houſe built for
" ſwearing, and not for prayer? Is the ſacred al-
" tar to occaſion the committing of crimes, inſtead
" of expiating them? But if every other religious
" ſentiment

(*d*) Homil. 15. ad pop. Antioch.

" ſentiment is extinguiſhed in you, revere, at leaſt, the " holy book, with which you preſent your brother to " ſwear upon. Open the holy goſpel, on which you " are going to make him ſwear, and upon hearing " what Chriſt Jeſus ſays of ſwearing, tremble and " withdraw. And what does Chriſt ſay there? (*e*) *It* " *has been ſaid by them of old time, thou ſhalt not for-* " *ſwear thyſelf. . . . But I ſay unto you, ſwear not at all.* " How! you make people ſwear on that very book " which forbids the taking of oaths? Impious proce- " dure! horrid ſacrilege! This is making the legiſla- " tor, who condemns murther, an accomplice in the " guilt of it.

" I ſhed fewer tears when I hear that a perſon has " been murthered on the high way, than when I ſee a " man go up to the altar, lay his hand on the holy " book of the goſpels, and take his oath aloud. On " this occaſion, it is impoſſible for me to keep from " changing colour, from trembling, and ſhivering, both " for him who adminiſters, and for him who takes the " oath. Miſerable wretch! to ſecure to thyſelf a doubt- " ful ſum of money, thou loſeſt thy ſoul! Can the be- " nefit thou reapeſt, be put in competition with thine " and thy brother's loſs? If thou knoweſt, that he " from whom thou exacteſt an oath is a good man, why " then art thou not contented with his word? But if he " is not, why doſt thou force him to forſwear himſelf?

" But here you will anſwer, that without this, your " proof would have been imperfect, and you would " not have been believed. What is that to the pur- " poſe? It is in fearing to require the oath, that " you will appear worthy of belief, and be eaſy in " your mind. For, in fine, when you are got home, " does not your conſcience reproach you? Don't you " ſay to yourſelf, was I in the right to exact an oath " from him? Is he not forſworn? Am not I the cauſe " of his committing ſo dreadful a crime? On the " other

(*e*) Matth. v. 33, 34.

" other ſide, what a conſolation muſt it be, when be-
" ing returned home, you can ſay to yourſelf, Bleſ-
" ſed be God, I put a reſtraint upon myſelf; I have
" prevented my brother from committing a crime,
" and poſſibly from taking a falſe oath! May all
" the gold, all the riches in the univerſe, periſh, ra-
" ther than that I infringe the law, or force others to
" violate it."

[*f*] In the foregoing homily, St. Chryſoſtom, after having related to his auditors in what manner St. John Baptiſt had been put to death, becauſe of the oath that Herod had made; exhorts them to preſerve the remembrance of ſo tragical an event, and to take warning by ſo dreadful an example; on which occaſion, he employs the moſt lively and ſublime figures. " I bid each of you yeſterday bring into his houſe, the " ſtill bleeding head of St. John Baptiſt, and to image to " yourſelves his eyes animated with a holy zeal againſt " oaths, and his voice, which, ſtill raiſing itſelf againſt " that criminal cuſtom, ſeems to ſpeak thus to you: " Fly and deteſt ſwearing, for this coſt me my life, " and occaſions the greateſt crimes. And indeed, con-" tinues St. Chryſoſtom, what neither the generous " liberty of the holy forerunner, (the Baptiſt) nor " the violent anger of the king, who ſaw himſelf pub-" licly reproved, could effect, was yet brought to paſs " by the ill-grounded fear of perjury; and St. John's " death was the effect and conſequence of the oath. " I again repeat the ſame thing to you: Repreſent to " yourſelves perpetually that holy head, which is for " ever reproaching blaſphemers; and this reflection " alone will be as a ſalutary bridle to your tongues, " and keep them from venting blaſphemies."

[*f*] Homil. xiv.

EXTRACT

EXTRACT *of* ST. CHRYSOSTOM'*s Diſcourſe on* EUTROPIUS'*s Diſgrace.*

EUTROPIUS was favourite to the Emperor Arcadius, and had an abſolute aſcendant over his maſter. This monarch, who diſcovered as much weakneſs when his miniſters ſtood in need of his protection, as imprudence in raiſing them, was forced, in ſpight of himſelf, to abandon his favourite. Eutropius thereupon fell from the higheſt pitch of grandeur into an abyſs of miſery. The only friend he then found, was St. John Chryſoſtom, whom he often had treated injuriouſly, and who yet had the pious generoſity to receive him in the ſacred aſylum of the altars, which he had endeavoured to aboliſh by various laws he had enacted againſt them, and to which he nevertheleſs fled in his calamity. The next day, on which the holy myſteries were to be celebrated, the people ran in crowds to the church, there to behold in Eutropius a lively image of human weakneſs, and of the vanity of worldly grandeur. The holy biſhop treated this ſubject in ſo lively and moving a manner, that he changed the hatred and averſion which the people had for Eutropius, into compaſſion, and drew tears from the whole congregation. We are to obſerve, that it was uſual with St. Chryſoſtom to addreſs the great and the powerful, even in the height of their proſperity, with a ſtrength and liberty truly epiſcopal.

" [*g*] If ever there was reaſon to cry, *Vanity of va-*
" *nities, all is vanity*, it is certainly on this occaſion.
" Where is now that ſplendor of the moſt exalted
" dignities? Where are thoſe marks of honour and
" diſtinction? What is become of that pomp of feaſt-
" ing and rejoicing? What is the iſſue of thoſe fre-
" quent acclamations and extravagantly flattering
" encomiums, laviſhed by a whole people aſſembled
" in

[*g*] Eccleſ. i. 2.

" in the Circus to ſee the public ſhews? A ſingle blaſt
" of wind has ſtript that proud tree of all its leaves, and,
" after ſhaking its very roots, has forced it in an inſtant
" out of the earth. Where are thoſe falſe friends, thoſe
" vile flatterers, thoſe paraſites ſo aſſiduous in making
" their court, and in diſcovering a ſervile attachment
" by their words and actions? All this is gone and
" fled away, like a dream, like a flower, like a ſha-
" dow. We therefore cannot too often repeat theſe
" words of the holy Spirit *Vanity of vanities, all is*
" *vanity*. They ought to be written in the moſt ſhining
" letters, in all places of public reſort, on the doors of
" and in all their apartments; but much more ought
" they to be engraved in our hearts, and be the per-
" petual ſubject of our meditation.

" Had I not juſt reaſon, ſays St. Chryſoſtom, ad-
" dreſſing himſelf to Eutropius, to ſet before you the
" inconſtancy of riches? You now have found by your
" own experience, that like fugitive ſlaves they aban-
" doned you; and are become, in ſome meaſure, traitors
" and murtherers with regard to you, ſince they are the
" principal cauſe of your fall. I often repeated to you,
" that you ought to have a greater regard to my reproach-
" es, how grating ſoever they might appear, than to
" the inſipid praiſes which flatterers were perpetually
" laviſhing on you, becauſe, (*h*) *faithful are the wounds*
" *of a friend; but the kiſſes of an enemy are deceitful.*
" Had not I juſt reaſon to addreſs you in this manner?
" What is become of the crowd of courtiers? They
" have turned their backs; they have renounced your
" friendſhip, and are ſolely intent upon their own inte-
" reſt and ſecurity, even at the expence of yours. We
" ſubmitted to your violence in the meridian of your
" fortune; and now you are fallen, we ſupport you to
" the utmoſt of our power. The church againſt which

(*h*) Prov. xxvii. 6.

" you have warred, opens its boſom to receive you; and " the theatres, the eternal object of your favour, " which had ſo often drawn down your indignation " upon us, have abandoned and betrayed you.

" I do not ſpeak this to inſult the misfortunes of him " who is fallen, nor to open and make wounds ſmart " that are ſtill bleeding; but in order to ſupport thoſe " who are ſtanding, and teach them to avoid the like " evils. And the only way to avoid theſe, is, to be fully " perſuaded of the frailty and vanity of worldly grandeurs. " To call them a flower, a blade of graſs, a ſmoke, a " dream, is not ſaying enough, ſince they are even below " nothing. Of this we have a very ſenſible proof before " our eyes. What man ever roſe to ſuch an height of " grandeur? Was he not immenſely rich? Did he not " poſſeſs every dignity? Did not the whole empire " ſtand in fear of him? And now, more deſerted, and " trembling ſtill more than the meaneſt of unhappy " wretches, than the vileſt ſlave, than the priſoners " confined in dungeons; having perpetually before his " eyes ſwords unſheathed to deſtroy himſelf; torments " and executioners; deprived of daylight at noon-day, " and expecting every moment that death which " prepetually ſtares him in the face.

" You were witneſſes yeſterday, when people came " from the palace in order to drag him hence, how he " ran to the holy altars, ſhivering in every limb; pale " and dejected, ſcarce uttering a word but what was " interrupted by ſobs and groans, and rather dead than " alive. I again repeat, I do not declaim in this manner " in order to inſult his fall, but to move and affect you " by the deſcription of his calamities, and inſpire you " with tenderneſs and compaſſion for one ſo wretched.

" But ſome hard-hearted, mercileſs perſons, who " are even offended at us becauſe we ſuffered him " to take ſanctuary in the church, ſays, Was not that

" very

" very man its moſt inveterate enemy, and made " laws for ſhutting up that ſacred aſylum? It is ſo " indeed, anſwers Chryſoſtom; but we ought to glo- " rify God the more, in thus obliging ſo formidable " an enemy of it, to come and pay homage both to " the power of the church and to its clemency. To " its power, ſince his perſecution of it cauſed his fall; " to its clemency, ſince notwithſtanding all his injuri- " ous treatment, forgetting what is paſt, he is ſhroud- " ed by its wings, is covered by its protection as tho' " it were a ſhield, and is received into the holy ſanc- " tuary of thoſe altars, which he himſelf had often " attempted to deſtroy. No victories or trophies " could reflect ſo much honour on the church. So ge- " nerous an action, of which only the church is ca- " pable, covers the Jews and Infidels with ſhame. " To afford protection publicly to a ſworn enemy, " fallen into diſgrace, abandoned and become univer- " ſally the object of contempt and abhorrence; to diſ- " cover more than a maternal tenderneſs for him; to " oppoſe at one and the ſame time the anger of the " emperor and the blind fury of the people; in this " conſiſts the glory of our holy religion.

" You declare with indignation, that he made laws " for ſhutting up this ſacred aſylum. But, O man! " whoſoever thou art, art thou then allowed to re- " member the injuries that have been done thee? Are " we not the ſervants of a crucified God, who ſaid, " as he was breathing his laſt, [*i*] *Father, forgive* " *them, for they know not what they do.* And that " man, now proſtrate before the altar, and expoſed to " the ſight of the whole world, does not he appear in " perſon to annul his own laws, and acknowledge that " they were unjuſt? What a glory does this reflect " on this altar, and how awful, how dreadful is it be- " come, ſince it keeps that lion in chains before our " eyes? Thus, what exalts the ſplendor of a monarch,

" is

[*i*] Luke xxiii. 34.

" is not his being clothed in purple and ſitting on his " throne, but his treating under foot vanquiſhed and " captive barbarians. . . .

" I ſee that our temple is as much crowded as at the " ſolemn feaſt of Eaſter. What a leſſon does the " ſight you now behold, afford! and how much more " eloquent is the ſilence of this man, reduced to ſo " miſerable a condition, than all our diſcourſes! The " rich man needs but enter in here, to ſee the fol- " lowing words of ſcripture verified: [*k*] *All fleſh is* " *graſs, and all the goodlineſs thereof is as the flower of* " *the field. The graſs withereth, the flower fadeth, be-* " *cauſe the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it.* And the " poor man is taught on this occaſion, to form a quite " different judgment of his condition than he generally " does; to be even pleaſed with his poverty, which is " to him a ſanctuary, a haven, a citadel; by affording " him ſecurity, and preſerving him from thoſe fears " and alarms which he ſees are cauſed by riches."

St. Chryſoſtom's deſign in this diſcourſe, was not only to inſtruct his hearers, but to move them to compaſſion, by the lively deſcription he gave of Eutropius's misfortunes. And indeed he had the conſolation, as was before obſerved, to draw tears from the whole congregation, notwithſtanding their great averſion to Eutropius, who was juſtly conſidered as the author of all the calamities, both public and private. When St. Chryſoſtom perceived this, he proceeded in this manner: " Have I calmed your reſentments? Have I " ſoftened your anger? Have I extinguiſhed inhuma- " nity in your minds? Have I raiſed your compaſſion? " Yes, I certainly muſt have effected all this; for " the frame of mind I now behold you in, and the " tears which trickle down your cheeks, are a certain " proof of it. Since then your hearts are become " more tender, and the glow of charity has melted " their ice, and ſoftened their rigour; let us go toge-

" ther

" ther and throw ourſelves at the emperor's feet; or " rather, let us beſeech the God of mercy to ſoften " his heart, and incline him to pardon Eutropius."

This diſcourſe had the deſired effect, and St. Chryſoſtom ſaved the life of that unhappy man. But ſome days after, Eutropius having been ſo imprudent as to leave the church, in order to make his eſcape, he was taken and baniſhed to Cyprus, where he was afterwards ſeized and carried to Chalcedon, and there beheaded.

EXTRACT *from the* FIRST BOOK *of the* PRIESTHOOD.

SAINT Chryſoſtom had an intimate friend, Baſilius by name, who had perſuaded our ſaint to leave his mother's houſe, and lead a recluſe and ſolitary life with him. As ſoon as my afflicted mother, ſays St. Chryſoſtom, heard of this, ſhe took me by the hand, carried me into her chamber, and ſetting me down by her on the bed where ſhe was delivered of me, ſhe began to weep, and ſpake to me in ſuch tender words, as affected me much more than her tears. " Son, ſays " ſhe, God would not ſuffer me to enjoy long your " father's virtue. By his death, which happened " ſoon after the pangs I had ſuffered in bringing you " into the world, you became an orphan, and I a wi- " dow, ſooner than was for either of our advantages. " I have ſuffered all the troubles and afflictions of " widowhood, which cannot be conceived by any but " thoſe who have gone through them. No words can " expreſs the ſtorms to which a young woman is ex- " poſed, who is but juſt come from her father's houſe; " is wholly unacquainted with affairs; and who being " overwhelmed with grief, is obliged to devote her- " ſelf to new cares, too weighty for her age and ſex. " She muſt make up the negligence of her ſervants, " and guard againſt their malice; muſt defend herſelf " from the evil deſigns of her neighbours; muſt ſuf-

" fer

" fer perpetually the injurious treatment of the far-
" mers of the revenues, and the inſolence and barbari-
" ty they exerciſe in levying the taxes.

" When a father leaves children behind him, if it
" be a daughter, I am ſenſible the care of her muſt be
" very heavy upon the widow her mother; however,
" this care is ſupportable, ſince it is not attended ei-
" ther with fear or expence. But if it be a ſon, the
" educating of him will be much more difficult; this
" fills her with perpetual apprehenſions, not to men-
" tion how expenſive it is to get him well educated.
" However, theſe ſeveral evils could never prevail up-
" on me to marry. I have continued fixed and im-
" moveable, amidſt theſe ſtorms and tempeſts; and
" truſting above all in the grace of God, I determined
" to ſuffer all thoſe troubles which are inſeparable
" from widowhood.

" But my only conſolation in theſe afflictions was
" to behold you perpetually, and to contemplate in
" your face, the living, the faithful image of my de-
" ceaſed huſband: a conſolation which I received in
" your infancy, and when you was yet incapable of
" ſpeaking, at which ſeaſon parents find the greateſt
" pleaſure in their children.

" I have not given you reaſon to ſay, that I indeed
" ſupported my preſent condition with courage, but
" that I leſſened your father's poſſeſſions, to extricate
" myſelf from thoſe difficulties; a misfortune that
" often befals minors. For I have preſerved for you
" all he left you, though I did not ſpare any expence
" for your education; this I paid myſelf out of the
" portion given me by my father. I don't ſay this,
" my ſon, by way of reproaching you with the obliga-
" tion you owe me. The only favour I aſk in return,
" is, that you would not reduce me to widowhood a
" ſecond time. Don't open a wound that was begin-
" ning to heal; at leaſt, ſtay till I am dead, and

" perhaps

" perhaps I may be ſo very ſoon. Thoſe who are " young, may hope to grow old; but at my age, I am " to expect nothing but death. After you have buried " me in the ſame grave with your father, and joined " my bones to his aſhes, then undertake ſuch long " journies, and ſail on whatever ſea you pleaſe, for no " one will hinder you: but ſo long as the breath is in " my body, bear with my preſence, and don't be tired " of living with me. Don't draw down upon yourſelf " the wrath of heaven, as you will do, ſhould you " ſo ſenſibly afflict a mother, who deſerves the beſt from " you. Should I offer to engage you in worldly con- " cerns, and you to undertake the management of my " affairs which are your own; I then will allow you " to have no regard or conſideration for the laws of " nature; the pains I have taken in bringing you up; " the reſpect which is due to a mother, or any ſuch " motive; but ſhun me as the enemy of your repoſe, " and as one who is laying ſnares to ruin you. But " in caſe I do all that lies in my power, to make your " life eaſy and happy, let this conſideration at leaſt " prevail upon you, if all others ſhould fail. How ma- " ny friends ſoever you may have, none of them will " allow you to live with ſo much liberty as I do; and " indeed, no one ſo paſſionately wiſhes your advance- " ment and felicity."

St. Chryſoſtom was unable to reſiſt theſe tender expreſſions, and though his friend Baſilius continued his ſolicitations, he could not be prevailed upon to leave a mother ſo very indulgent, and ſo highly worthy of his love.

Do we meet with any thing among heathen authors more beautiful, more lively, more tender, or more eloquent, than the diſcourſe before us, but of that ſimple and natural eloquence which infinitely excels the moſt ſhining ſtrokes of elaborate art? Is there one farfetched thought in it, or any uncommon or affected turn? Is not the whole dictated by nature itſelf? But the circumſtance I admire the moſt in it, is, the inexpreſſible

reſervedneſs

reſervedneſs of a deeply afflicted mother, who, though exceſſively afflicted, does not however vent one paſſionate expreſſion, or complain of him who was the cauſe of her violent uneaſineſs, I mean Baſilius. But undoubtedly his virtue checked her reſentments on this occaſion, or her fear that ſuch words would exaſperate her ſon, whom ſhe deſired to work upon by ſoft and gentle methods

PART THE SECOND.

The LEARNING REQUISITE *in a* CHRISTIAN ORATOR.

WHAT I have hitherto delivered, relates only to the ſtile and method proper for the Chriſtian orator, and which St. Auſtin calls *eloquenter dicere*. It remains for me to treat that which forms the knowledge indiſpenſibly neceſſary to a preacher, which the above mentioned ſaint calls, *ſapienter dicere*.

Without this learning, [*l*] a preacher, how eloquent ſoever he might appear, would be but a mere declaimer; and ſo much the more dangerous to his hearers, as the more agreeable to them, and as by dazzling them with this falſe ſplendor, he might accuſtom them to miſtake an empty ſound of words for truth, which is the only ſolid food of the mind. It is well known, ſays St. Auſtin, how greatly the heathens themſelves, who were not enlightened by Divine Wiſdom, but guided only by reaſon and good ſenſe, deſpiſed this falſe ſpecies of eloquence; what are we therefore to think of it, who are the children, and the miniſters of this very wiſdom?

It is but too uſual with many who prepare for preaching, to be more ſtudious about embelliſhing their diſcourſes, than of filling them with ſolid truths. Nevertheleſs, it is a maxim in rhetoric, eſtabliſhed by all who

[*l*] Qui affluit inſipienti eloquentia, tanto magis cavendus eſt, quanto magis ab eo in iis quæ audire inutile eſt, delectatur auditor, et eum, quoniam diſerte dicere audit, etiam vere dicere exiſtimat. S. Aug. lib. iv. de doct. chriſt. c. 5.

who have written on that art, that the only way to ſpeak well, is to think well or juſtly; and, to be able to do the latter, a perſon muſt be well inſtructed, by a maſter of his ſubject; and his mind muſt be adorned with a variety of knowledge.

[*m*] *Scribendi rectè ſapere eſt et principium et fons.*

It was from philoſophy, and eſpecially in that of Plato, the ancients imagined that fund of knowledge might be imbibed, which only can form the good orator.

Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt oſtendere chartæ.

This made Cicero ſo carefully enjoin this ſtudy; [*n*] and he confeſſes, as was obſerved elſewhere, that if he has made any advances in eloquence, he owes it more to philoſophy than to rhetoric.

But Chriſtian orators have infinitely more pure and more abundant ſources, whence they ought to draw this fund of knowledge. Theſe ſprings are the ſcripture and the fathers. What riches do they contain? And how culpable would that perſon be, who ſhould neglect ſo precious a treaſure? That man who is much converſant in them, will eaſily be maſter of elocution. The juſt thoughts and great truths with which his mind will be ſtored, will naturally ſuggeſt proper expreſſions; and ſuch an orator can never want words:

Verbaque proviſam rem non invita ſequentur.

Of the STUDY *of the* SCRIPTURES.

A preacher ought to make the ſacred writings his chief ſtudy; and St. Auſtin lays it down as an inconteſtible principle, that the Chriſtian orator will be more or leſs able to deliver himſelf with juſtneſs and ſolidity, in proportion to his knowledge of the ſcriptures: "Sapienter

[*m*] Horat. de art. poet.

[*n*] Fateor me oratorem, ſi modo ſim, aut etiam quicumque ſim, non ex rhetorum officinis, ſed ex Academiæ ſpatiis extitiſſe. Orat. n. 12.

[o] "Sapienter dicit homo tanto magis vel minus, quan-
"to in ſcripturis ſanctis magis minuſve profecit."

All the religion and all the knowledge of man, for this life and for that which is to come, conſiſts in knowing the only true God, and Chriſt whom he has ſent: [p] "Hæc eſt vita æterna, ut cognoſcant te ſolum Deum "verum, et quem miſiſti Jeſum Chriſtum." What can be wanting in that man who poſſeſſes this double knowledge? And where can it be taken, but from the ſacred writings? [q] "Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or "who hath been his counſellor? O the depth of the rich-"es both of the wiſdom and knowledge of God!" Who can boaſt, [r] "that he has all the riches of the full aſ-"ſurance of underſtanding to the acknowledgment of "the myſtery of God," and of the Father, and of Chriſt? Thoſe only, [s] "to whom God will make "known what are the riches of the glory of this *double* "myſtery:" that is, the evangeliſts and apoſtles, who "can ſay, [t] "We have received—the Spirit of God; "we know the mind of Chriſt." It is known that this gift was indulged to St. Paul in an eminent degree, who declared, [u] "I determined not to know any thing "among you, ſave Jeſus Chriſt, and him crucified;" all other things, [x] "he counted but loſs," in compariſon "of the excellency of the knowledge of Chriſt "Jeſus." [y] He declares in more places than one, that his vocation is, [z] "to preach among the Gentiles the "unſearchable riches of Chriſt; and to make all men "ſee, what is the fellowſhip of the myſtery, which, "from the beginning of the world hath been hid in "God, who created all things by Jeſus Chriſt."

What is a preacher of the goſpel properly, but an ambaſſador ſent by the Creator to men, to declare his deſigns to them; to lay before them the conditions of the covenant

[o] De doctr. chriſt. l. iv. c. 5.
[p] Joan. xvii. 3.
[q] Rom. xi. 34, 35.
[r] Coloſſ. ii. 2.
[s] Coloſſ. i. 27.
[t] 1 Cor. ii. 12, 16.
[u] 1 Cor. ii. 2.
[x] Philip. iii. 8.
[y] Coloſſ. iv. 3, 4.
[z] Epheſ. iii. 8, 9.

venant he will make with them; and of the peace he will condeſcend to grant them, agreeable to that majeſtic expreſſion of St. Paul, (*y*) *We are ambaſſadors for Chriſt?* Now, from whom ſhould an ambaſſador receive his inſtructions, or the words he is commanded to deliver to thoſe he is to treat with, but from the maſter who ſent him? It was this made St. Paul exhort the Epheſians to offer up prayers continually for him; in order, ſays he, (*z*) "that utterance may be given unto me, that I "may open my mouth boldly, to make known the "myſtery of the goſpel,——that therein I may ſpeak "boldly." And the ſame apoſtle declares in another place, "that all things are of God, who hath reconcil-"ed us unto himſelf by Jeſus Chriſt, (*a*) and hath given "to us the miniſtry of reconciliation."

When can preachers ſay truly to their hearers, (*b*) "Now then we are ambaſſadors for Chriſt, as though "God did beſeech you by us.——(*c*) We ſpeak before "God in Chriſt, or rather, (*d*) it is Jeſus Chriſt ſpeaks "in us,"_unleſs when the truths they declare, and the proofs by which they ſupport them, are drawn from the ſacred writings, and are warranted from God's word? Theſe are likewiſe infinitely fruitful, whether we deſire to inculcate the tenets, or to explain myſteries; or would unfold the principles of morality, or cenſure vices: (*e*) "All ſcripture is given by inſpiration of God, and "is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, "for inſtruction and righteouſneſs."

It muſt be confeſſed, that the truths, which are declared to Chriſtians, are much ſtronger, and make a much greater impreſſion, when they are thus inveſted with the divine authority; becauſe every man, at the ſame time that he has an idea of the Deity, has naturally a veneration for Him. Beſides, theſe truths take much deeper root in the mind, when they

(*y*) 2 Cor. v. 20.
(*z*) Epheſ. vi. 19. 20.
(*a*) 2 Cor. v. 15.
(*b*) 2 Cor. v. 20.
(*c*) Ibid. xii. 19.
(*d*) Ibid. xiii. 3.
(*e*) 2 Tim. iii. 16.

they are joined with ſome paſſages of ſcripture, the ſenſe and energy of which have been ſhewn. The hearer may have the text explained before his eyes, which makes him much more attentive; at leaſt he has it at home, and by reading it, he eaſily recalls whatever was ſaid to explain it. But a bare citation, often very ſhort, and of which the auditor has ſeldom notice, paſſes away with great rapidity, leaves no trace behind it, and is loſt and confounded in the reſt of the diſcourſe. We cannot expect much fruit from inſtructions, when they are founded merely on human reaſons.

"One might follow," ſays the archbiſhop of Cambray in his dialogues on eloquence, where he lays down excellent rules for preaching; "one might follow many preachers twenty years, and not be inſtructed in "religion in the manner we ought. I have often obſerved, ſays he elſewhere, that there is no art or "ſcience but is taught from principles, and methodically; whilſt religion only is not taught after that "method. A little, dry catechiſm, which they do not "underſtand, is given them in their infant years to "learn by heart; after which, they have no other inſtructions but what they can gather from looſe, indigeſted ſermons. I wiſh that chriſtians were taught "the firſt elements of their religion, and were inſtructed with order and method to the higheſt myſteries. "This was the practice of the earlier ages of the church. "Miniſters uſed to begin with catechiſms, after which "they taught the goſpel regularly by homilies, whereby Chriſtians became perfectly acquainted with the "whole word of God."

In this manner, paſtors taught anciently their flocks; and the chief preparation they judged neceſſary for this important duty, which they looked upon with great terror, was the ſtudy of the ſacred writings. I ſhall content myſelf with citing here, the teſtimony and example of St. Auſtin. Valerius, his biſhop, had ordained him prieſt, almoſt in ſpight

ſpight of himſelf, in the view chiefly of making him exerciſe the miniſtry of preaching; and indeed, he a little after obliged him to it. Who can expreſs the fears, the inquietudes and alarms, with which St. Auſtin was ſeized at the ſight of this function? And yet many look upon it as a ſport, though this great man trembled at the ſight of it. But what was wanting in him, either with regard to genius, or the knowledge neceſſary in a preacher? And this his biſhop repreſented to him. (*f*) He himſelf owns, that he was well enough acquainted with all thoſe things which relate to religion; but then he imagined, that he was not ſufficiently able to diſtribute thoſe truths to others, ſo as to conduce to their ſalvation; and this made him requeſt ſo earneſtly, that ſome time at leaſt might be allowed him, in order to prepare himſelf for it, by the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, by prayer, and by tears. "But if," ſays he in his beautiful petition to his biſhop, "after having learned from ex-"perience the qualifications required in a man, who is "entruſted with the diſpenſation of the ſacraments and "of the word of God, you will not allow me time to "acquire what I am ſenſible is wanting in myſelf, you "would then have me periſh. Valerius, my dear fa-"ther, where is your love and your charity? . . . For "what anſwer ſhall I be able to make to the Lord when "he will judge me? Shall I tell him, that after I had "once accepted of eccleſiaſtical employments, it was "not poſſible for me to inform myſelf in thoſe things "which were neceſſary to enable me to diſcharge them "as I ought?"

All that St. Auſtin thought on this ſubject, the ſeveral fathers of the church, who were charged with the miniſtry of preaching, have thought and practiſed in the ſame manner: St. Baſil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chryſoſtom did thus, and pointed out the ſame courſe to their ſucceſſors. This ſtudy therefore is neceſſary to all, and may be of vaſt uſe. There are a great number of clergymen,

(*f*) Epiſt. 21. ad Valer.

clergymen, who, though of ſmall abilities in other reſpects, are however to inſtruct children, the common people or peaſants, whom the bare ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, and eſpecially of the New Teſtament, will enable to acquit ſucceſsfully of their duty; and in whom this ſtudy, if carefully followed, will ſupply what they may want with regard to learning and eloquence. (*g*) St. Auſtin adviſes, that the poorer they find themſelves, the more they ought to borrow the riches of the ſcripture; that they ſhould take from theſe an authority they could never have had for themſelves, by enforcing their own words with their teſtimony; and that they ſhould find in its greatneſs and ſtrength, the means to grow in ſtrength of mind, and to fortify themſelves by thoſe divine aids.

The STUDY *of the* FATHERS.

But in order to diſcharge the more worthily ſo ſublime and important a miniſtry, we muſt join to the ſtudy of the ſacred writings, that of the doctors of the church, who are the true interpreters of it, and whom Chriſt, the ſole ſovereign of men, condeſcended to aſſociate in that honourable quality, by enlightening them particularly with his word.

The eloquence of the pulpit has an advantage over that of the bar, which is not ſufficiently valued, nor, in my opinion, ſufficiently practiſed. In the latter, the orator draws almoſt every thing he has to ſay from his own underſtanding. He may make uſe of ſome thoughts, and ſome turns, borrowed from the ancients; but then he is not allowed to copy them: and though he were allowed this, his ſubject would ſeldom admit of it. But it is otherwiſe with a preacher; for what ſubject ſoever he may treat, a ſpacious field is open to him in the Greek and Latin fathers, where he is ſure to find all the moſt juſt and ſolid particulars which can be ſaid on the ſame head;

(*g*) Quanto ſe pauperiorem cernit in ſuis, tanto eum oportet in iſtis eſſe ditiorem: ut quod dixerit ſuis verbis, probet ex illis: et qui propriis verbis minor erat, magnorum teſtimonio quodammodo creſcat. De doct. chriſt. l. 4. c. 5.

head; not only principles and their conſequences; truths, and the proofs of them; the rules, and their application; but even very often the thoughts and turns; inſomuch that an orator of no great abilities is on a ſudden enriched by the wealth of others, which becomes in ſome meaſure his own, by the uſe he makes of it. And ſo far from its being a crime in him to adorn himſelf thus, with theſe precious ſpoils, he ought, on the contrary, to be cenſured, in caſe he preſumed to prefer his own thoughts to thoſe of ſuch great men, who, by a peculiar privilege, were deſtined to inſtruct all ages and nations after their death.

I do not pretend, in ſpeaking thus, to confine the labour of preachers to extracting the moſt beautiful paſſages from the fathers, and delivering them ſo detached to their hearers. However, though they ſhould do this, their flock would not be thereby leſs inſtructed; nor would their caſe be very hard, ſhould they ſtill have St. Ambroſe, St. Auſtin, and St. Chryſoſtom, for their paſtors. I have heard a clergyman in Paris, who was very much followed and admired, though moſt of his ſermons were borrowed from M. Tourneaux and Mr. Nicole. And indeed, what need the people care whence what they hear is borrowed, provided it be excellent, and well adapted to their inſtruction? But a preacher is allowed to lend, or rather to join his eloquence to that of thoſe great men, by borrowing from them the ſubſtance of his proofs and arguments; and expreſſing them after his manner, without following them ſervilely. If he undertakes, for inſtance, to ſhew why God permits juſt men to be afflicted in this life, St. Chryſoſtom, in his firſt homily to the people of Antioch, ſupplies him with ten or twelve different reaſons, all ſupported by texts of ſcripture; and adds a great number in other diſcourſes. St. Auſtin has alſo ſome wonderful paſſages on this ſubject, which he treated often, becauſe this inſtruction

and

and conſolation have in all ages been neceſſary to the good and juſt. Can a preacher of genius and elocution, finding himſelf in the midſt of theſe immenſe riches, of which he is allowed to take whatever he pleaſes, fail of delivering himſelf in a great, noble, majeſtic, and at the ſame time ſolid and inſtructive manner? A perſon who is a little converſant with the fathers, immediately diſcovers whether a diſcourſe flows from thoſe ſources; whether the proofs and principles were taken from thence; and though the preacher be ever ſo eloquent or ſolid in other reſpects, yet, if he is deficient in this part, he wants ſomething very eſſential.

I again repeat, that this advantage is of ineſtimable value, and does not require infinite pains or time. Some years of retirement would ſuffice for this ſtudy, how extenſive ſoever it may appear: and that man who ſhould have made himſelf maſter only of the homilies of St. John Chryſoſtom, and St. Auſtin's ſermons on the Old and New Teſtament, with ſome other little treatiſes of the latter, would find in them all that is neceſſary to form an excellent preacher. Theſe two great maſters would alone ſuffice to teach him in what manner he is to inſtruct his flock, by teaching them religion thoroughly, and from principles, and by clearly explaining to them its tenets and morality; but, above all, by making them perfectly acquainted with Chriſt, his doctrine, actions, ſufferings, myſteries; and annexing theſe ſeveral inſtructions to the text of ſcripture itſelf, the explication of which is equally adapted to the capacities, and the taſte, both of the learned and unlearned; and fixes the truths in the mind, in a more eaſy and agreeable manner.

One cannot inculcate too much to young men, after St. Auſtin's example, the neceſſity they will be under, in caſe God ſhould one day call them to the eccleſiaſtical miniſtry, of going through a courſe of ſolid ſtudies, of making the ſcriptures familiar to them-

themſelves, and of taking the holy fathers for their guides and maſters before they undertake to teach others.

SECT. V.

Of the ELOQUENCE *of the* SACRED WRITINGS.

WHEN I propoſe to make ſome reflections here on the Eloquence of the Scriptures, I am far from being willing to confound them with thoſe upon profane authors, by making youth remark only ſuch things as pleaſe the ear, delight the imagination, and form the taſte. The deſign of God in ſpeaking to mankind by the ſcriptures, was not undoubtedly to foment their pride and curioſity, or to make them orators and learned men, but to amend their hearts. His intention in thoſe ſacred books, is not to pleaſe the imagination, or to teach us to move that of others, but to purify and convert us, and to recal us from abroad, whither our ſenſes lead us, to our heart, where his grace enlightens and inſtructs us.

It is certain that the Divine Wiſdom has every kind of bleſſing in her train, and that all the qualities which the world reſpect, and can only receive from her, are at her diſpoſal. And how would it be poſſible for her not to be eloquent, ſhe who (*h*) opens the mouth of the dumb, and makes little children eloquent?

(*i*) *Who hath made man's mouth?* ſays he, ſpeaking to Moſes, who thought himſelf not poſſeſſed of a good utterance, *Who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or the ſeeing, or the blind; have not I, the Lord?*

But the Divine wiſdom, in order to make itſelf more acceſſible and more eligible, has condeſcended

(*h*) Sapientia aperuit os mutorum, et linguas infantium fecit diſertas. Sap. x. 2.

(*i*) Obſecro, Domine: non ſum eloquens ab heri et nudius tertius — Quis fecit os hominis? aut quis fabricatus eſt mutum et ſurdum, videntem et cæcum? Nonne ego? Exod. iv. 10. et 11.

to ſtoop to our language, to aſſume our tone of voice, and to ſtammer, as it were, with children. Hence it is, that the chief and almoſt univerſal characteriſtic of the ſcriptures, is ſimplicity.

This is ſtill more apparent in the New Teſtament, and St. Paul diſcovers to us a very ſublime reaſon of it. The Creator's deſign, at firſt, was to win over men to the knowledge of himſelf by the uſe of their reaſon, and by contemplation on the wiſdom of his works. In this firſt plan, and manner of teaching, every thing was great and magnificent, every thing anſwered to the majeſty of the God who ſpake, and the greatneſs of him who was inſtructed. But ſin has deſtroyed that order, and occaſioned a quite oppoſite method to be uſed. (*k*) "For after that, in the wiſdom of God, the world "by wiſdom knew not God, it pleaſed God, by the "fooliſhneſs of preaching, to ſave them that believe." Now part of this folly conſiſts in the ſimplicity of the evangelical word and doctrine. God was determined to diſcredit the vanity of eloquence, of knowledge, and the wiſdom of philoſophers; and to bring into contempt the pomp of human pride, in dictating the books of ſcripture, by which only mankind are to be converted, in a ſtile quite different from that of the heathen writers. Theſe ſeem ſtudious only of heightening their diſcourſes by ornaments, whereas the ſacred penmen never endeavour to diſplay wit in their writings, that they may bereave Chriſt's croſs of the honour of converting the world, by giving it either to the charms of eloquence, or to the force of human reaſon.

If therefore notwithſtanding the ſimplicity, which is the true characteriſtic of the ſcriptures, we meet with ſuch beautiful, ſuch ſublime paſſages in them; it is very remarkable, that this beauty, this ſublimity, do not ariſe from a far-fetched laboured elocution, but from the things, which are ſo great, ſo lofty in themſelves,

(*k*) 1 Cor. i. 21.

ſelves, that they muſt neceſſarily appear magnificent when clothed in words.

Furthermore, the Divine Wiſdom has employed the ſame method in ſpeaking to men, as ſhe did in the incarnation, by which ſhe wrought their ſalvation. She was indeed veiled and darkened by the diſagreeable outſide of infamy, ſilence, poverty, contradictions, humiliations, and ſufferings: but then ſhe always ſuffered rays of majeſty and power to eſcape through thoſe veils, which clearly diſcover her divinity. This double character, of ſimplicity and majeſty, is conſpicuous alſo in every part of the ſacred writings: and when we ſeriouſly examine, what this wiſdom ſuffered for our ſalvation, and cauſed to be wrote for our inſtruction, we diſcover equally in both, the eternal word by whom all things were made, *In principio erat verbum*; this is the ſource of its grandeur; but its aſſuming the fleſh for our ſakes, *et verbum caro factum eſt*, this is the cauſe of its weakneſs.

'Twas neceſſary to uſe theſe precautions, and to lay down theſe principles, before I undertook to point out in the ſcriptures, ſuch particulars as relate to eloquence. For otherwiſe, by ſetting too high a value on theſe kind of beauties, we ſhould expoſe young people to the danger of having leſs veneration for thoſe paſſages of ſcripture, where it is more acceſſible to *little ones*, although it be as divine in thoſe places as in any other, and often conceals more profound things: or we ſhould expoſe them to another danger, equally to be avoided, which is, to neglect thoſe very things which Wiſdom ſays to us, and to attend only to the manner in which ſhe ſays them; and by that means to ſet a leſs value on the ſalutary counſel ſhe gives us, than on the ſtrokes of eloquence which fall from her. Now, it is injurious to her to admire only her train, and look upon herſelf; or to be more touched with the gift ſhe often beſtows on her enemies, than with the graces which ſhe reſerves for her children and diſciples.

I ſhall run over different matters, but not in a very exact order. I have obſerved elſewhere, that moſt of the reflections the reader will find here on the ſcriptures are not mine; which indeed their beauty of ſtile will ſhew.

I. Simplicity *of the* Mysterious Writings.

‡ *They crucify him there.*

The more we reflect on the inimitable character of the Evangeliſts, the more we diſcover that they were not directed by the ſpirit of man. Theſe barely ſay in a few words, that their maſter was crucified, without diſcovering the leaſt ſurprize, compaſſion, or gratitude. Who would have ſpoke in this manner of a friend that had laid down his life for him? What ſon would have related in ſo ſhort, ſo unaffected a manner, how his father had ſaved him from death, by ſuffering in his ſtead? But it is in this that the finger of God appears conſpicuous; and the leſs man appears in a conduct ſo little human, the more evident is the operation of God.

(*l*) The prophets deſcribe Chriſt's ſufferings, in a lively, affecting, and pathetic manner, and abound with ſentiments and reflections; but the Evangeliſts relate them with ſimplicity, without emotion, or reflections; without breaking out into admiration or teſtimonies of gratitude; or diſcovering the leaſt deſign to make their readers the diſciples of Chriſt. It was not natural, that perſons, who lived ſo many years before Chriſt, ſhould be ſo touched with his ſufferings; nor that men who were eye-witneſſes of his croſs, and ſo zealous for his glory, ſhould ſpeak with ſo much calmneſs of the unheard of crime that was perpetrated againſt him. The ſtrong zeal and affection of the apoſtles might have been ſuſpected, which that of the prophets could not be. But had not the evangeliſts and the prophets been inſpired,

‡ Luke xxii. 33.

(*l*) David, pſ. x, xi, et lxviii. Iſai. c. l. et liii. Jer. c. xviii. &c.

ſpired, the former would have writ with greater force and fire, and the latter with more coldneſs and indifference; the one would have ſhewn a deſire to perſuade, and the other ſuch a timidity and heſitation in their conjectures, as would not have affected any one. All the prophets are ardent, zealous, full of reſpect and veneration for the myſteries they publiſh; but as for the evangeliſts, they are calm; and have an inimitable moderation, though their zeal is as ſtrong as that of the prophets. What man but ſees the hand which guided both the one and the other? And what more ſenſible proof can we have of the divinity of the ſcriptures, than their not reſembling, in any particular, ſuch things as are written by men? But at the ſame time, how much ſhould ſuch an example (and there are multitudes of the ſame kind) teach us to revere the auguſt ſimplicity of the ſacred books, which frequently conceal the moſt ſublime truths, and the moſt profound myſteries?

(*m*) 'Tis much in the ſame manner, the ſcripture relates, that Iſaac was laid, by Abraham, on the wood which was to be his funeral pile, and was bound before he was ſacrificed, without telling us one word either of the ſentiments of the ſon, or of his father's diſcourſe to him; or preparing us for ſuch a ſacrifice by any reflections, or telling us in what manner the father and ſon ſubmitted to it. Joſephus the hiſtorian puts a pretty long, but very beautiful and moving diſcourſe into Abraham's mouth; but Moſes deſcribes him as ſilent, and is himſelf ſilent on that occaſion. The reaſon of this is, the former wrote as a man, and as his genius prompted him; whereas the other was the pen and inſtrument of the Spirit of God, who dictated all his words.

II. Simplicity *and* Grandeur.

(*n*) *In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.* What man who was to have treated of ſuch exalted

(*m*) Gen. ch. xxii. (*n*) Gen. i. 1.

exalted matters, would have begun as Moſes did? How majeſtic, and at the ſame time how ſimple is this! Do not we perceive, that it is God himſelf who informs us of a wonder which does not aſtoniſh him, and to which he is ſuperior? A common man would have endeavoured to ſuit the magnificence of his expreſſions to the grandeur of his ſubject, and would have diſcovered only his weakneſs; but eternal Wiſdom, who made the world in (*o*) ſport, relates it without emotion.

The prophets, whoſe aim was, to make us admire the wonders of the creation, ſpeak of it in a very different manner.

(*p*) "The Lord is King, and hath put on glorious "apparel; the Lord hath put on his apparel, and "girded himſelf with ſtrength."

The holy King, tranſported in ſpirit at the firſt origin of the world, deſcribes in the moſt pompous expreſſions, in what manner God, who hitherto had remained unknown, inviſible, and had, in the impenetrable ſecret of his being, manifeſted himſelf on a ſudden, by a crowd of incomprehenſible wonders.

The Lord, ſays he, at laſt comes forth from his ſolitude. He will not be alone happy, juſt, holy, but will reign by his goodneſs and bounty. But with what glory is the immortal King inveſted! What riches has he diſplayed to us! From what ſource do ſo many lights and beauties flow? Where were thoſe treaſures, that rich pomp hid, which iſſued out from the womb of darkneſs? How great muſt the majeſty of the Creator be, if that which ſurrounds him imprints ſo great an awe and veneration! What muſt he himſelf be when his works are ſo magnificent!

The ſame prophet, in another pſalm, coming out of a profound meditation on the works of God, and filled with admiration and gratitude, exhorts himſelf to

(*o*) Ludens in orbe terrarum. Prov. viii. 31.

(*p*) Dominus regnavit: decorem indutus eſt. Indutus eſt Dominus fortitudinem, et præcinxit ſe. Pſ. xcii. 5.

to praiſe and bleſs the infinite Majeſty and goodneſs, whoſe wonders aſtoniſh, and whoſe bleſſings oppreſs him. (*q*) "Praiſe the Lord, O my ſoul: O Lord my God "thou art become exceeding glorious, thou art clothed "with majeſty and honour—Thou deckeſt thyſelf with "light, as it were with a garment; and ſpreadeſt out "the heavens like a curtain." Would not one think that the God of ages had clothed himſelf on a ſudden with magnificence; and that, iſſuing from the ſecret part of palace, he diſplayed himſelf in light? But all this is but his outward clothing, and as a mantle which hides him. Thy majeſty, O my God! is infinitely above the light that ſurrounds it. I fix my eyes on thy garments, not being able to fix them on thyſelf: I can diſcern the rich embroidery of thy purple, but I ſhall ceaſe to ſee thee, ſhould I dare to raiſe my eyes to thy face.

It will be of uſe to compare in this manner the ſimplicity of the hiſtorian, with the ſublime magnificence of the prophets. Theſe ſpeak of the ſame things, but in quite a different view. The ſame may be obſerved with regard to all the circumſtances of the creation. I ſhall preſent the reader with only a few of them, by which he may form a judgment of the reſt.

(*r*) "God made two great lights; the greater light "to rule the day, and the leſſer light to rule the "night: he made the ſtars alſo."

Can any thing be more ſimple, and at the ſame time more auguſt? I ſhall ſpeak only of the ſun and ſtars, and will begin with the laſt.

God only is allowed to ſpeak with indifference of the moſt aſtoniſhing ſpectacle with which he had adorned the univerſe: *And the ſtars.* He declares in one word, what coſt him but a word; but who can fathom the vaſt extent of this word? Do we conſider that theſe ſtars

(*q*) Benedic anima mea Domino. Domine Deus meus, magnificatus es vehementer. Confeſſionem [Heb. gloriam] et decorem induiſti, amictus lumine ſicut veſtimento. Pſal. civ. 1, 2.

(*r*) Fecit Deus duo luminaria magna: luminare majus, ut præeſſet dici, et luminare minus, ut præeſſet nocti, et ſtellas. Gen. i. 16.

ſtars are innumerable, all infinitely greater than the earth; all, the planets excepted, an inexhauſtible ſource of light? (*s*) But what order fixed their ranks? and whom does that hoſt of heaven, all whoſe centinels are ſo watchful, obey with ſo much punctuality and joy? The firmament, ſet with ſuch a numberleſs multitude of ſtars, (*t*) is the firſt preacher who declared the glory of the Almighty; and, to make all men inexcuſable, we need only that book written in characters of light.

As for the ſun, who can behold it ſtedfaſtly, and bear for any time the ſplendor of its rays? (*u*) "The "ſun when it appeareth, declares at its riſing a mar-"vellous inſtrument, the work of the moſt High: At "noon it parcheth the country, and who can abide the "burning heat thereof? A man blowing a furnace is in "works of heat, but the ſun burneth the mountains "three times more; breathing out fiery vapours, and "ſending forth bright beams, it dimmeth the eyes. "Great is the Lord that made it, and at its command-"ment it runneth haſtily." Is this then the ſame ſun, which is mentioned in Geneſis in ſo plain and ſimple a manner: *He made its light greater, that it might preſide over the day?* How many beauties are comprehended, and, as it were, veiled under theſe few words! Can we conceive the pomp and profuſion with which the ſun begins his courſe; the colours with which he embelliſhes nature; and with what magnificence himſelf is arrayed at his appearing on the horizon, as the ſpouſe whom heaven and earth await, and whoſe delight he forms? *He cometh forth out of his chamber as*

(*s*) Stellæ dederunt lumen in cuſtodiis ſuis, et lætatæ ſunt. Vocatæ ſunt, et dixerunt, Adſumus, et luxerunt ei cum jucunditate, qui fecit illas. Baruc. iii. 34, 35. (*t*) Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei, et opera manuum ejus annunciat firmamentum. Pſal. xix. 1.

(*u*) Sol——vas admirabile, opus excelſi. In meridiano exurit terram, in conſpectu ardoris ejus quis poterit ſuſtinere? Fornacem cuſtodiens in operibus ardoris: tripliciter ſol exurens montes, radios igneos exſufflans, et refulgens radiis ſuis obcæcat oculos. Magnus Dominus qui fecit illum, et in ſermonibus ejus feſtinavit iter. Eccl. xliii. 2, 5.

as a bridegroom. But behold in what manner he unites the majeſty and graces of a bridegroom, with the rapid courſe of a giant, who is leſs ſtudious to pleaſe than to carry, throughout the world, the news of the Prince who ſends him, and who is leſs attentive to his dreſs than to his duty. "He exulted as a giant who is to "run his race. He came from the higheſt heaven and "his courſe is to its height; nor can any one hide "himſelf from his heat." His light is as ſtrong and diffuſive as at the firſt day; ſo that the perpetual deluge of fire which ſpreads from all parts of it has not diminiſhed the incomprehenſible ſource of ſo full and precipitated a profuſion. The prophet had juſt reaſon to cry out, *Great is the Lord who made it!* How great is the majeſty of the Creator, and what muſt he himſelf be, ſince his works are ſo auguſt!

I ſhall add farther, that paſſage which relates to the creation of the ſea; (*u*) "God ſaid, Let the waters "under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, "and let the dry land appear."

Had not the prophets aſſiſted us in diſcovering the wonders concealed under the ſurface of theſe words, their depth would be more unfathomable with regard to us than that of the ſea.

This commandment, which is here but a ſingle expreſſion, is a dreadful menace, and a thunderer, according to the prophet. "(*x*) The waters ſtood above the moun- "tains. At thy rebuke they fled: at the voice of thy thun- "der they haſted away." Inſtead of running off gently, they fled with fear; they haſted to precipitate themſelves, and to crowd one over the other, in order to leave that ſpace void which they ſeemed to have uſurped, ſince God drove them from thence. Something like this happened when God made his people to paſs through the Red Sea and the river Jordan, *The Red Sea made a noiſe,*

(*u*) Gen. i. 9.

(*x*) Super montes ſtabunt aquæ. Ab imprecatione tua fugient: à voce tonitrui formidabunt. Pſal. civ. 6, 7.

and was dried up; whence another prophet takes occaſion (*y*) to aſk God, whether he is angry at the river and the ſeas.

In this tumultuous obedience, where the frighted waters, one would imagine, ſhould have ſwept away every thing in their courſe, an inviſible hand governed them with as much eaſe as a mother governs and handles a child ſhe had firſt ſwathed, and afterwards put in his cradle. It is under theſe images God repreſents to us what he did at that ſame time. "(*y*) Who ſhut up the ſea with "doors, when it brake forth as if it had iſſued out of the "womb? When I made the cloud the garment thereof, "and thick darkneſs a ſwaddling band for it; and brake "up for it my decreed place, and ſet bars and doors, and "ſaid, Hitherto ſhall thou come, but no farther: and "here ſhall thy proud waves be ſtayed." There is no occaſion to raiſe the beauty of theſe laſt words; for who is not affected with them? God marked out bounds to the ſea, and it did not dare to tranſgreſs them: (*a*) That which was written on its ſhores, prevented it from going beyond them; and that element which appears the moſt ungovernable, was equally obedient both in its flight and in its ſtay. This obedience has continued the ſame for many ages; and how tumultuous ſoever the waves may appear, the inſtant they come near the ſhore, God's prohibition keeps them in awe, and ſtops their progreſs.

III. *The*

(*y*) Numquid in fluminibus iratus es, Domine? vel in mari indignatio tua? Habac iii. 8.

(*z*) Quis concluſit oſtiis mare, *ſaid he to Job*, [Heb. Quis protexit in valvis mare, cum ex utero prodiens exiret?] quando erumpebat, quaſi de vulva procedens: cum ponerem nubem veſtimentum ejus, et caligine illud, quaſi pannis infamiæ, obvolverem! Circumdedi illud terminis meis, [Heb. decrevi ſuper eo decretum meum] et poſui vectem et oſtia. Et dixi: Uſque huc venies, et non procedes amplius, et hic confringes tumentes fluctus tuos. [Heb. meta hæc confringet tumorem fluctuum tuorum.] Job xxxviii. 8. 10.

(*a*) Poſui arenam terminum mari, præceptum ſempiternum, quod non præteribit. Et commovebuntur, et non poterunt, et intumeſcent fluctus ejus, et non tranſibunt, illud. Jerem. v. 22.

III. *The* BEAUTY *of the* SCRIPTURE *does not ariſe from the* WORDS *but the* THINGS.

It is well known, that the moſt excellent Greek and Latin authors, loſe moſt of their graces when tranſlated literally, becauſe a great part of their beauty conſiſts in the expreſſion: But as that of the ſcriptures conſiſts more in the things than the words, we find that it ſubſiſts and ſtrikes in the moſt verbal tranſlation. This will plainly appear from every part of the ſcripture. I ſhall content myſelf with tranſcribing only two or three paſſages from it.

1. (*b*) "Wo unto them that join houſe to houſe, that lay "field to field, till there be no place, that they may be "placed alone in the midſt of the earth. In mine ears ſaid "the Lord of Hoſts, of a truth many houſes ſhall be de"ſolate, even great and fair without inhabitant."

There is nothing in all the eloquence of the heathens, comparable to the vivacity of the reproach, which the prophet here makes to the wiſe men of his time, who, neglecting the law of God, which had aſſigned to every man in particular, a proportion of the promiſed land, with a prohibition to alienate it for ever; ſwallowed up in their vaſt parks, the vineyard, the field, and the houſe of thoſe who were ſo unhappy as to live near them.

But the reflection which the prophet adds, ſeems to me no leſs eloquent, notwithſtanding its great ſimplicity; *In mine ears, ſaid the Lord of Hoſts.* I hear the Lord; his voice is at my ear. Whilſt the whole world attends to nothing but their pleaſures, and that no one hears the law of God, I already hear

(*b*) Væ qui conjungitis domum ad domum, et agrum agro copulatis uſque ad terminum loci. [Heb. Donec deficiat locus.] Numquid habitabitis vos ſoli in medio terræ? In auribus meis † Dominus exercituum: Niſi domus multæ deſertæ fuerint grandes et pulchræ abſque habitatore. Iſa. v. 8, 9.

† *Thus the Hebrew verſion had it; but the Latin verſion aſcribes theſe words to God, not to the prophet.* In auribus meis ſunt hæc: dicit Dominus exercituum.

hear his thunder roaring againſt thoſe ambitious rich men, who think of nothing but building and eſtabliſhing their abode upon the earth. God echoes in mine ear a perpetual threat againſt their vain enterprizes, and a kind of oath more dreadful than the threat itſelf, becauſe it proves the latter ready to break forth, and irrevokable: *Of a truth many houſes ſhall be deſert, &c.*

2. The ſame prophet deſcribes the characteriſtics of the Meſſiah in a wonderful manner. (*c*) "For unto us "a child is born, unto us a ſon is given, and the go- "vernment ſhall be upon his ſhoulder: and his name "ſhall be called Wonderful, Counſellor, The mighty "God, The everlaſting Father, The prince of peace."

I ſhall conſider only the following expreſſion, *and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder*; this includes a wonderful image, and has a peculiar energy when conſidered with due attention.

Jeſus Chriſt ſhall be born an infant; but then he ſhall not wait either for years or experience before he reigns. He ſhall not ſtand in need of being acknowledged by his ſubjects, nor of being aſſiſted by his armies, in order to ſubdue rebels; for he himſelf will be his ſtrength, his power, his royalty. He ſhall differ infinitely from other kings, who cannot be ſuch, unleſs they are acknowledged by ſome ſtate; and who fall into the condition of private men, if their ſubjects refuſe to obey them. Their authority is not their own, nor from themſelves, nor can they give it duration. But the child who ſhall be born, even when he ſhall appear to be in want of all things, and to be incapable of commanding, ſhall bear all the weight of divine majeſty and royalty. (*d*) He ſhall ſupport every thing by his efficacy and power; and his

(*c*) Parvulus natus eſt nobis, et filius datus eſt nobis, et factus eſt, [Heb. et erit] principatus ſuper humerum ejus; et vocabitur nomen ejus, Admirabilis, Conſiliarius, Deus Fortis, Pater futuri ſæculi, Princeps pacis. Iſa. ix. 6.

(*d*) Portans omnia verbo virtutis ſuæ. Heb. i. 3.

Ecce Deus veſter: ecce Dominus Deus in fortitudine veniet, et brachium ſuum dominabitur. Iſai. xl. 10.

his ſovereign authority ſhall reſide fully and wholly in himſelf, *and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder*. Nothing ſhall prove this better than the manner itſelf in which he ſhall chuſe to reign. He muſt have from himſelf, and independent of all exterior means, a ſovereign power, in order to make himſelf be worſhipped by mankind, notwithſtanding the ignominy of the croſs, which he ſhall vouchſafe to take upon himſelf; and to change the inſtrument of his puniſhment into the inſtrument of his victory, and the moſt ſplendid mark of his ſovereignty; *the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder*.

Thoſe who ſtudy the ſcripture attentively, find that the beauty of it conſiſts in the ſtrength and greatneſs of the thoughts.

IV. DESCRIPTION.

1. Cyrus was the greateſt conqueror, and the moſt accompliſhed prince mentioned in hiſtory, the reaſon of which the ſcripture gives us, *viz.* that God himſelf had taken a pleaſure in forming him for the accompliſhment of his intended mercy to his people. He calls him by his name two hundred years before his birth, and declares, that he himſelf will ſet the crown on his head, and put a ſword in his hand, in order to make him the deliverer of his people.

(*e*) "Thus ſaith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, "whoſe right hand I have holden, to ſubdue nations be- "fore him; and I will looſe the loins of kings to open "before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates ſhall "not be ſhut. I will go before thee, and make the crook- "ed places ſtraight; I will break in pieces the gates of "braſs, and cut in ſunder the bars of iron.... I am the "Lord, and there is none elſe, there is no god beſides "me; I girded thee, thou haſt not known me."

In

(*e*) Hæc dicit Dominus Chriſto meo Cyro, cujus apprehendi dexteram, ut ſubjiciam ante faciem ejus gentes, et dorſa regum vertam, et aperiam coram eo januas, et portæ non claudentur. Ego ante te ibo, et gloriôſos terræ humiliabo: portas æreas conteram, et vectes ferreos confringam... Ego Dominus, et non eſt amplius: extra me non eſt Deus. Accinxi te: et non cognoviſti me. Iſa. xlv. 1. 2. 5.

In another place, he commands Cyrus king of the Perſians, then called Elamites, to ſet out with the Medes; he orders the ſiege to be made, and the walls to fall down. (*f*) *March, Elam; Mede, do thou beſiege. In fine, Babylon will no longer make others ſigh.* Let him come now at my command; let him join with the Medes; let him beſiege a city which is an enemy to my worſhip and to my people; let him obey me without knowing me; let him follow me with his eyes ſhut; let him execute my commands, without being either of my counſel, or in my confidence; and let him teach all princes, and even all men, how I am ſovereign over empires, events, and even wills; ſince I make myſelf be equally obeyed by kings, and by every private ſoldier in the armies, without having any occaſion either to reveal myſelf, or to exhort, or employ any other means than my will, which is alſo my power. (*g*) *That they may know from the riſing of the ſun, and from the weſt, that there is none beſides me; I am the Lord, and there is none elſe.*

How majeſtic are theſe few words! *Go up, Elam*; Prince of the Perſians, ſet out. *Beſiege, Mede:* and you, Prince of the Medes, form the ſiege. *I have made all their groans to ceaſe:* Babylon is taken and plundered; it has no power; its tyranny is at an end.

2. The ſcriptures have painted in the ſtrongeſt colours, how greatly ſenſible God is to the oppreſſion of the poor and the weak, as well as to the injuſtice of the judges and the mighty of the earth.

(*h*) Iſaiah repreſents truth feeble and trembling, imploring, but in vain, the aſſiſtance of the judges, and repreſenting herſelf to no purpoſe before every tribunal. Acceſs is denied her every where; ſhe is in all

(*f*) Aſcende, Elam; obſide, Mede: omnem gemitum ejus ceſſare feci. Iſa. xxi. 2. (*g*) Iſa. xlv. 6.

(*h*) Converſum eſt retrorſum judicium, et juſtitia longe ſtetit: quia corruit in platea veritas, et æquitas non potuit ingredi. Et facta eſt veritas in oblivionem: et qui receſſit à malo, prædæ patuit: et vidit Dominus, et malum apparuit in oculis ejus, quia non eſt judicium. Et vidit quia non eſt vir: et aperiatus eſt, quia non eſt qui occurrat. Iſa. lix. 14, 15, 16.

all places rejected, forgot, and trodden under foot. Intereſt prevails over right, and the good man is delivered up a prey to the unjuſt. "And the Lord ſaid it, and it diſ-"pleaſed him that there was no judgment. And he ſaw "that there was no man, and he wondered that there "was no interceſſor."

His ſilence would make me conclude, either that he does not ſee thoſe diſorders, or that he is indifferent to them. It is not ſo, ſays the prophet in another place; every thing is prepared for judgment, whilſt men are not thinking any thing of the matter. (*i*) The inviſible Judge is preſent. He is ſtanding in order to take in hand the defence of thoſe who have no other; and to pronounce a very different ſentence againſt the unjuſt, and in behalf of thoſe who are poor and weak. "The "Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of the "people, and the princes thereof: for ye have eaten up "the vineyard; the ſpoil of the poor is in their houſes. "What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and "grind the faces of the poor? ſays the Lord God "of hoſts." Nothing can be ſtronger or more eloquent than the reproaches which God makes in this place to the judges and princes of his people. How! You who ought to defend my people, as a vine that was committed to your care; you who ought to ſerve as a hedge and rampart to it; it is you yourſelves have made wild havock of this vine, and ruined it, as though the (*k*) fire had paſt over it. *And you eat the vine.* Had you been but a little tender of your brethren, and not ruined them entirely! but after you have ſtripped my people, you lay them in the wine preſſes; in order to ſqueeze the marrow out of their bones: *You bruiſe them*; you cruſh them under the mill, in order to grind them to duſt; *you grind them.* You perhaps intend to conceal

(*i*) Stat ad judicandum [Heb. concertandum] Dominus, et ſtat ad judicandos populos. Dominus ad judicium veniet cum ſenibus populi ſui, et principibus ejus. Vos enim [Heb. et vos] depaſti eſtis vineam. Rapina pauperis in domo veſtra. Quare atteritis populum meum, et facies pauperum commolitis, dicit Dominus Deus exercituum? Iſa. iii. 13, ——15.

(*k*) So the original ſays.

conceal your thefts and rapine from me, by converting them into proud furniture for the ornament of your houſes. I have followed with attentive and jealous eyes, all you have deſpoiled your brother of; and ſee it, notwithſtanding your great endeavours to hide it. *The ſpoil of the poor is in your houſes.* Every thing calls aloud for vengeance, and ſhall obtain it; it ſhall fall on you and your children; and the ſon of an unjuſt father, as he inherits his crime, will alſo inherit my anger. "(*l*) Wo "unto him that buildeth a town with blood, and eſta- "bliſheth a city by iniquity. For the ſtones ſhall cry out "of the wall, and the beam out of the timber ſhall an- "ſwer it."

We obſerve a quite oppoſite character in the perſon of Job, who was the pattern or example of a good judge and a good prince. "(*m*) For from my youth compaſſion "was brought up with me, as with a father, and I have "guided her from my mother's womb....I put on righ- "teouſneſs, and it clothed me; my judgment was as a "robe and a diadem.... I delivered the poor that cried, "and the fatherleſs, and him that had none to help "him. The bleſſing of him that was ready to periſh "came upon me; and I cauſed the widow's heart to ſing "for joy.... I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to "the lame. I was a father to the poor.... I brake the jaws "of the wicked, and plucked the ſpoil out of his teeth."

3. I ſhall conclude with a deſcription of a very different kind from thoſe which preceded it, but no leſs remarkable; 'tis that of a war horſe, which God himſelf deſcribed in the book of Job.

"Haſt

(*l*) Væ qui ædificat civitatem in ſanguinibus.... Quia lapis de pariete clamabit: et lignum, quod inter junctûras ædificiorum eſt, reſpondebit. Hab. ii. 12, 11.

(*m*) Ab infantia mea crevit mecum miſeratio: [Heb. educavit me] et ab utero matris deduxi illam.... Liberabam pauperem vociferantem, et pupillum cui non erat adjutor. Benedictio perituri ſuper me veniebat, et cor viduæ conſolatus ſum. Juſtitia indutus ſum; et veſtivi me, ſicu, veſtimento et diademate, judicio meo. Oculus fui cæco, et pes claudo. Pater eram pauperum.... Conterebam molas iniqui, et de dentibus illius auferebam prædam. Job, cap. xxxi. 18. et cap. xxix. 12, 14,——17.

(*n*) 'Haſt thou,' ſays God to Job, 'given the horſe 'ſtrength? Haſt thou clothed his neck with thunder? 'Canſt thou make him afraid as a graſhopper? The 'glory of his noſtrils is terrible. He paweth in the val-'ley, and rejoiceth in his ſtrength: he goeth on to meet 'the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not 'affrighted; neither turneth he back from the ſword. 'The quiver rattleth againſt him, the glittering ſpear 'and the ſhield. He ſwalloweth the ground with fierce-'neſs and rage; neither believeth he that it is the ſound 'of the trumpet. He ſaith among the trumpets, Ha, 'ha; and he ſmelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of 'the captains, and ſhouting.'

Every word of this would merit an explication, in order to diſplay the beauties of it; but I ſhall take notice only of the latter, which give a kind of under-ſtanding and ſpeech to the horſe.

Armies are a long time before they are ſet in battle array, and are ſometimes a great while in view of one another without moving. All the motions are marked by particular ſignals, and the ſoldiers are appointed to perform their various duties, by the ſound of trumpet. This ſlowneſs is importunate to the horſe: as he is ready at the firſt ſound of the trumpet, he is very impatient to find the army muſt ſo often have notice given to it. He murmurs ſecretly againſt all theſe delays, and, not being able to continue in his place, nor to diſobey orders, he ſtrikes the ground perpetually with his hoof, and complains, in his way, that the ſoldiers loſe their time in gazing one upon another. *He ſwalloweth the ground with fierceneſs and rage.* In his impatience, he conſiders as nothing all ſuch ſignals as are not

(*n*) Numquid præbebis equo fortitudinem, aut circumdabis collo ejus hinnitum? Numquid ſuſcitabis eum quaſi locuſtas? Gloria narium ejus terror. Terram ungula fodit: exultat audacter: in occurſum pergit armatis. Contemnit pavorem, nec cedit gladio. Super ipſum ſonabit pharetra, vibrabit haſta et clypeus. Fervens, et fremens ſorbet terram, nec reputat tubæ ſonare clangorem: Ubi audierit buccinam, dicit, Vah! Procul odoratur bellum, exhortationem ducum, et ululatum exercitus. Job xxxix. 19, 25.

not deciſive, and which only point out ſome circumſtances to which he is not attentive; *neither believeth he that it is the ſound of a trumpet.* But when it is in earneſt, and that the laſt blaſt of the trumpet calls to battle, then the whole countenance of the horſe is changed. One would conclude, that he diſtinguiſhes, as by his ſmell, that the battle is going to begin; and that he heard the general's order diſtinctly, and anſwers the confuſed cries of the army, by a noiſe, which diſcovers his joy and courage: 'He ſaith among the 'trumpets, Ha, ha; and he ſmelleth the battle afar off, 'the thunder of the captains, and ſhouting.'

If the reader compares Homer's and Virgil's admirable deſcriptions of the horſe, he will find how vaſtly ſuperior this is to them both.

V. FIGURES.

It would be an endleſs labour to run over all the different kinds of figures in the ſcriptures. The paſſages above cited include a large number, and to theſe I ſhall add a few more, eſpecially of thoſe that are moſt common, ſuch as the metaphor, the ſimile, the repetition, the apoſtrophe, and proſopopeia.

1. *The* METAPHOR *and* SIMILE.

(*o*) 'I have always dreaded the anger of God, as waves 'hanging over my head, and I could not bear the weight 'of them.' What an idea does this give us of God's anger! waves that ſwallow up every thing, a weight that overwhelms and daſhes to pieces. (*p*) 'I ſhall bear the 'anger of the Lord.' How can we bear it to all eternity?

Nor is the magnificence of God with regard to his elect, leſs difficult to be comprehended and explained. (*q*) 'He will make them drunk with his bleſſings, and 'will overflow them with a flood of delights.'

But

(*o*) Semper quaſi tumentes ſuper me fluctus timui Deum, et pondus ejus ferre non potui. Job xxxi. 25.

(*p*) Mich. vii. 9.

(*q*) Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuæ: et torrente voluptatis tuæ potabis eos. Pſal. xxxv. 9.

But there is another kind of drunkenneſs reſerved for the wicked. (*r*) 'Thou ſhalt be filled with drunkenneſs 'and ſorrow,' ſays a prophet to wicked Jeruſalem, 'with the cup of aſtoniſhment and deſolation, with the 'cup of thy ſiſter Samaria. Thou ſhalt even drink it, 'and ſuck it out, and thou ſhalt break the ſherds thereof, 'and pluck off thine own breaſts: for I have ſpoken it, 'ſaith the Lord.' This is a dreadful picture of the rage of the damned, but infinitely fainter than truth.

2. Repetition.

(*s*) 'Like as I have watched over them, to pluck up 'and to break down, and to throw down, and to de-'ſtroy, and to afflict; ſo will I watch over them, to 'build, and to plant, ſaith the Lord.' The conjunction here repeated ſeveral times, denotes, as it were, ſo many redoubled ſtrokes of God's anger.

(*t*) 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, be-'cauſe ſhe made all nations drink of the wine of the 'wrath of her fornication.' This repetition, which is alſo in (*u*) Iſaiah, denotes that the fall of this great city will appear incredible: and that every one, before he will believe it really is fallen, will cauſe it to be repeated ſeveral times to him.

(*x*) 'Now will I riſe, ſaith the Lord; now will I be 'exalted, now will I lift up myſelf.' That is to ſay, after having a long time to lye aſleep, he will at length come out of his ſleep, to undertake the defence of his people with ſplendor, and that the moment is come; *Now, now.* God expreſſes himſelf ſtill more ſtrongly in

(*r*) Ebrietate et dolore repleberis: calice mœroris et triſtitiæ, calice ſororis tuæ Samariæ. Et bibes illum, et epotabis uſque ad fæces, et fragmenta ejus devorabis, et ubera tua lacerabis: quia ego locutus ſum, ait Dominus Deus. Ezek. xxiii. 33, et 34.

(*s*) Sicut vigilavi ſuper eos ut evellerem, et demolirer, et diſſiparem, et diſperderem, et affligerem: ſic vigilabo ſuper eos ut ædificem, et plantem, ait Dominus. Jer. xxxi. 28.

(*t*) Cecidit, cecidit Babylon illa magna; quæ à vino iræ fornicationis ſuæ potavit omnes gentes. Apoc. xiv. 8.

(*u*) Iſaiah xxi. 9.

(*x*) Nunc conſurgam, dicit Dominus: nunc exaltabor: nunc ſublevabor. Iſaiah xxxiii. 10.

in the ſame prophet. (*y*) 'I have long time holden my 'peace, I have been ſtill and reſtrained myſelf: now 'will I cry like a travelling woman; I will deſtroy and 'devour at once.

3. Apostrophe, Prosopopeia.

Theſe two figures are often blended. The latter conſiſts chiefly in giving life, ſentiment, or ſpeech, to inanimate things, or in addreſſing diſcourſe to them.

In the cxxxviith Pſalm, it is a citizen of Jeruſalem baniſhed to Babylon, who ſitting mournfully on the banks of the river which watered that city, breathes his grief and complaints, in turning his eyes towards his dear country. His maſters, who kept him in captivity, urged him to play ſome airs on his muſical inſtrument for their diverſion. But he, filled with grief and indignation, cries out, (*z*) 'How ſhall we ſing the Lord's 'ſong, in a ſtrange land? If I forget thee, O Jeruſalem, 'let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not re-'member thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my 'mouth.' How tender, how affecting, does this apoſtrophe to the city of Jeruſalem make the diſcourſe of this baniſhed Jew! He imagines he ſees it, diſcourſes with it, proteſts with an oath, that he will loſe his voice and the uſe of his tongue, and that of his inſtruments, rather than forget it, by partaking in the falſe joys of Babylon.

The ſacred writers make a wonderful uſe of the proſopopeia, and Jeruſalem is often the object of it. I ſhall content myſelf with pointing out only a ſingle example taken from (*a*) Baruch, where that prophet deſcribes the unhappineſs of the Jews who are led captives to Babylon. He introduces Jeruſalem as a mother in the deepeſt affliction, but at the ſame time obedient to the inſtructions of God, how rigorous ſoever, who exhorts her

(*y*) Tacui ſemper, filui, patiens ſui; ſicut parturiens loquar: diſſipabo et abſorbebo ſimul. Iſaiah xlii. 14.

(*z*) Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena? Si oblitus fuero tui, Jeruſalem, oblivioni detur [Heb. obliviſcatur] dextera mea. Adhæreat lingua mea faucibus meis, ſi non meminero tui. Pſal. cxxxvii. 4, 5, 6.

(*a*) Baruch, cap. v. 1,——4.

her children to obey the ſentence which condemns them to baniſhment; who bewails her ſolitary condition and their miſeries; who repreſents to them, that 'tis the juſt puniſhment for their prevarications and ingratitude; who gives them ſalutary advices, in order to their making an holy uſe of their ſevere captivity; and who, at laſt, full of confidence in the goodneſs and promiſes of God, promiſes them a glorious return. The prophet afterwards addreſſes himſelf to Jeruſalem, and comforts her, from the proſpect that her children will be recalled, and the ſeveral advantages to ſucceed their return. 'Put off, O Jeruſalem, the garment of thy mourning 'and affliction, and put on the comelineſs of the glory 'that cometh from God for ever .... For thy name 'ſhall be called of God for ever, the peace of righte-'ouſneſs, and the glory of God's worſhip.'

Nothing is more common in the ſcriptures, than to give life to the ſword of God. (*b*) God lays his command on it; it ſharpens, it poliſhes itſelf; prepares to obey; ſets out at the appointed moment; goes where God ſends it, devours his enemies, fattens itſelf with their fleſh, gets drunk with their blood; grows hot with ſlaughter; and after having executed its maſter's commands, returns to its place. The prophet Jeremiah unites almoſt all theſe ideas in one place, and adds others more animated to them. (*c*) 'O thou ſword of the 'Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? Put up 'thyſelf into the ſcabbard; reſt and be ſtill. How can 'it be quiet,' replies the prophet, 'ſeeing the Lord 'hath given it a charge againſt Aſhkelon, and againſt 'the ſea-ſhore? There hath he appointed it.'

VI. SUB-

(*b*) Mucro, mucro, evagina te ad occidendum: lima te ut interficias et fulgeas.... Gladius exacutus eſt, et limatus. Ut cædat victimas, exacutus eſt, ut ſplendeat, limatus eſt. Ezek. xxi. 28. ix. 10.

Gladius Domini repletus eſt ſanguine, incraſſatus eſt adipe. Iſa. xxxiv. 6.

Devorabit gladius et ſaturabitur, et inebriabitur ſanguine eorum. Jer. xlvi. 10.

(*c*) O mucro Domini, uſquequo non quieſces? Ingredere in vaginam tuam, refrigerare, et file. Quomodo quieſcet, cum Dominus præceperit ei adverſus Aſcalonem.... ibique condixerit illi? Jer. xlvii. 6, 7.

VI. SUBLIME PASSAGES.

(*d*) 'God ſaid, Let there be light, and there was 'light:' 'Tis in the original, 'God ſaid, Let light 'be, and light was.'

Where was it a moment before? How could it ſpring from the very womb of darkneſs? At the ſame inſtant with light, the ſeveral colours which ſpring from it, embelliſhed all nature. The world, that had been hitherto plunged in darkneſs, ſeemed to iſſue a ſecond time out of nothing; and every thing, by being enlightened, was beautified.

(*e*) This was produced by a ſingle word, whoſe majeſty even ſtruck the heathens, who admired at Moſes's making God ſpeak as a ſovereign; and that inſtead of employing expreſſions, which a little genius would have thought magnificent, he contented himſelf with only, 'God ſaid, Let there be light, and there was light.'

And, indeed, nothing can be greater or more elevated than this way of thinking. To create light (and 'tis the ſame here with regard to the univerſe) God needed only to ſpeak: it would be too much to ſay, he needed only to have willed it (*f*), for the voice of God is his will; he ſpeaks as a commander, and commands by his decrees.

The Vulgate has a little leſſened the vivacity of the expreſſion: 'God ſaid, Let the light be made, and the 'light was made.' For the word *made*, which has different progreſſions among men, and ſuppoſes a ſucceſſion of times, ſeems in ſome ſort to retard the work of God, which was performed at the very moment he willed it, and received its perfection in an inſtant.

The prophet Iſaiah makes God deliver himſelf with the ſame ſublimity, when he foretels the taking of

(*d*) Gen. i. 3. (*e*) Longin.

(*f*) Dicere Dei, voluiſſe eſt. S. Eucher.

Naturæ opifex lucem locutus eſt et creavit. Sermo Dei, voluntas eſt: opus Dei, natura eſt. S. Ambroſe.

of Babylon, (*t*) 'I am the Lord that maketh all things, 'that ſtretcheth forth the heavens alone, that ſpreadeth 'abroad the earth by myſelf; . . . That ſaith to the 'deep (*u*), be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers; That 'ſaith of Cyrus, he is my ſhepherd, and ſhall perform 'all my pleaſure, even ſaying to Jeruſalem, Thou ſhalt be 'built: and to the temple, Thy foundation ſhall be laid.'

The Kings of Syria and Iſrael had ſworn the deſtruction of Judah; and the meaſures they had taken for that purpoſe, ſeemed to make its ruin unavoidable. A ſingle word baffles their deſign, (*x*) 'Thus ſaith the Lord 'God, it ſhall not ſtand, neither ſhall it come to paſs.'

The ſame thought is amplified in another place; and the prophet who knows that God has promiſed to prolong the race of David, 'till the time of the Meſſiah, who was to ſpring from him, defies with a holy pride the vain efforts of the princes and nations who conſpired to deſtroy the family and throne of David. (*y*) 'Aſſo-'ciate yourſelves, O ye people, and ye ſhall be broken 'in pieces; and give ear, all ye of far countries; gird 'yourſelves, and ye ſhall be broken in pieces. Take 'counſel together, and it ſhall come to nought; ſpeak 'the word, and it ſhall not ſtand, for God is with us.' Iſaiah here propheſies in words ſuitable to the infinite power of God, that though all men ſhould unite together, they yet ſhall not retard one inſtant, immutable promiſes; that confederacies, conſpiracies, ſecret deſigns, powerful armies, ſhall have no effect; that all thoſe

(*t*) Ego ſum Dominus, faciens omnia: extendens cœlos ſolus, ſtabiliens terram, et nullus mecum . . . . Qui dico profundo, deſolare, et flumina tua arefaciam. Qui dico Cyro, Paſtor meus es, et omnem voluntatem meam complebis. Qui dico Jeruſalem, Ædificaberis; et templo, Fundaberis. Iſai. xliv. 24, 27, 28.

(*u*) He names the Euphrates, which Cyrus dried up in order to take Babylon.

(*x*) Hæc dicit Dominus Deus: Non ſtabit, et non erit iſtud. Iſai. vii. 7.

(*y*) Congregamini, populi, et vincimini: et audite univerſæ procul terræ: confortamini, et vincimini: accingi e vos, et vincimini: inite conſilium, et diſſipabitur: loquimini verbum, et non fiet: quia nobiſcum Deus. Iſai. viii. 9, 10.

who attack the weak kingdom of Judah ſhall be overcome; that the whole univerſe united ſhall not be able to effect any thing againſt it: and that the circumſtance which will render it invincible, is, *God's being with it*, or, which is the ſame thing, becauſe Emanuel is his protector and his king, and that *his* intereſt is the preſent concern, rather than that of the princes he is to ſpring from.

Numberleſs obſtacles oppoſed Zerubbabel's deſign of cauſing the temple of Jeruſalem to be rebuilt; and theſe obſtacles, like ſo many mountains, ſeemed to defy all human efforts. God only ſpeaks, but with the voice of a ſovereign, and the mountain vaniſhes: 'Who art thou, 'O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou ſhalt be-'come a plain.'

Every one knows with what energy the ſcriptures make the impious man vaniſh, who a moment before ſeemed, like the cedar, to raiſe his proud head to the ſkies. 'I have ſeen the wicked in great power: and 'ſpreading himſelf like a green bay tree: yet he paſſed 'away, and lo, he was not: yea, I ſought him, but he 'could not be found.' He is ſo completely annihilated, that the very place where he ſtood was deſtroyed. M. Racine has tranſlated this paſſage as follows:

J'ai vû l'impie adoré ſur la terre,
Pareil au cédre, il cachoit dans le cieux
Son front audacieux.
Il ſembloit à ſon gré gouverner le tonnerre,
Fouloit aux piés ſes ennemis vaincus,
Je n'ai fait que paſſer, il n'etoit déja plus.

Engliſhed.

(a) "I've ſeen the impious wretch ador'd on earth,
"And, like the cedar, hide his daring front
"High in the heavens. He ſeem'd to rule at will
"The

(z) Pſal. xxxvii. 35, 36. (a) Eſther, Act. v. ſcene derniere.

" The forked thunder, and to cruſh his captives.—
" I only paſt, and lo! he was no more."

Such is the grandeur of the moſt formidable princes, when they do not fear God; a ſmoke, a vapour, a ſhadow, a dream, a vain image: " [*b*] Man walketh in a " vain ſhadow."

But on the other ſide, what a noble idea do the ſcriptures give us of the greatneſs of God! [*c*] He is He who is. His name is, The Eternal; the whole world is his work. The heaven is his throne, and the earth his footſtool. All nations are before him but as a drop of water, and the earth they inhabit but as a particle of duſt. The whole univerſe is before the Almighty as though it were not. His power and wiſdom conduct it, and regulate all the motions of it with as much eaſe as a hand holds a light weight, with which it ſports rather than bears it. [*d*] He diſpoſes of kingdoms as the abſolute ſovereign of them, and gives them to whom he pleaſes; but both his empire and power are infinite.

All this appears to us great and ſublime, and is indeed ſo when compared to us. But when we ſpeak to men in words they are capable of underſtanding, what can we ſay that is worthy of God? The ſcriptures themſelves under the weight of his majeſty, and the expreſſions they uſe, how magnificent ſoever they may be, bear no proportion to the greatneſs, which alone deſerves that name.

(*b*) Pſalm xxxix. 6.

(*c*) Ego ſum, qui ſum. Exod. iii. 14.
Cœlum ſedes mea, terra autem ſcabellum pedum meorum. Iſai. lxvi. 1.
Quis menſus eſt pugillo aquas, et cœlos palmo ponderavit; quis appendit tribus digitis molem terræ, et libravit in pondere montes et colles in ſtatera? . . . . Ecce gentes quaſi ſtilla ſitulæ, et quaſi momentum ſtateræ reputatæ ſunt: ecce inſulæ quaſi pulvis exiguus. . . . Omnes gentes quaſi non ſint, ſic ſunt coram eo, et quaſi nihilum et inane reputatæ ſunt ei. Iſaiah xl. 12, 15, 17.

(*d*) Donec cognoſcant viventes, quoniam dominatur Excelſus in regno hominum, et cuicunque voluerit, dabit illud. . . . Poteſtas ejus ſempiterna, et regnum ejus in generationem et generationem. Dan. vi. 14, 31.

This, Job obſerves in a wonderful manner. After having related the wonders of the creation, he concludes with a very ſimple, but at the ſame time, very ſublime reflection. " (*e*) Lo theſe are parts of his ways, but " how little a portion is heard of him? but the thunder " of his power who can underſtand? The little he diſcovers to us of his infinite grandeur, bears no proportion to what he is, and nevertheleſs ſurpaſſes our underſtanding. He ſtoops, and we cannot riſe to him, at the time that he deſcends to us. He is conſtrained to employ our thoughts and expreſſions in order to make himſelf intelligible; and even then, we are rather dazzled with his brightneſs, than truly enlightened. But how would it be, ſhould he reveal himſelf in all his majeſty? Should he lift up the veil which ſoftens its rays; ſhould he tell us who he is, what ear could reſiſt the thunder of his voice? What eye would not be blinded by a light ſo diſproportioned to their weakneſs? " But the thunder " of his power who can underſtand?

VII. Tender *and* affecting Passages.

One would not believe, that ſuch great Majeſty would deſcend ſo low as to ſpeak to man, if the ſcripture did not give us ſome proofs of it in every page. The moſt lively, the moſt tender things in nature, are all too faint to expreſs his love.

" (*f*) I have nouriſhed and brought up children, *ſays he* " *by the mouth of Iſaiah*, and they have rebelled againſt " me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the aſs his " maſter's crib: but Iſrael doth not know, my people " doth not conſider."

" And

(*e*) Ecce, hæc ex parte dicta ſunt viarum ejus; et cum vix parvam ſtillam ſermonis ejus audierimus, quis poterit tonitruum magnitudinis illius intueri? Job xxvi. 14.

(*f*) Filios enutrivi, et exaltavi: ipſi autem ſpreverunt me. Cognovit bos poſſeſſorem ſuum, et aſinus præſepe domini ſui; Iſrael autem me non cognovit. Iſaiah i. 2, 3.

" (*g*) And now, O inhabitants of Jeruſalem, and men " of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vine- " yard. What could have been done more to my vine- " yard that I have not done in it? Wherefore, when I " looked that it ſhould bring forth grapes, brought it " forth wild grapes?"

" (*h*) They ſay, if a man put away his wife, and ſhe go " from him, and become another man's, ſhall he return " unto her again? Shall not that land be greatly pollut- " ed? But thou haſt played the harlot with many lovers; " yet return again to me, ſaith the Lord."

" (*i*) Hearken unto me, O houſe of Jacob, and all the " remnant of the houſe of Iſrael, which are born by " me, from the belly, which are carried from the womb. " And even to your old age I am he, and even to hoary " hairs will I carry you: I have made, and I will bear, " even I will carry and will deliver you."

" (*k*) As one whom his mother comforteth, ſo will I " comfort you; and ye ſhall be comforted in Jeruſalem."

" (*l*) But Zion ſaid, the Lord hath forſaken me, and " my Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her " ſucking child, that ſhe ſhould not have compaſſion " on the ſon of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet " will I not forget thee."

(*g*) Nunc ergo, habitatores Jeruſalem, et viri Juda, judicate inter me et vineam meam. Quid eſt quod debui ultra facere vineæ meæ, et non feci ei? An quod expectavi ut faceret uvas, et fecit labruſcas? Iſaiah v. 3, 4.

(*h*) Vulgo dicitur: ſi dimiſerit vir uxorem ſuam, et recedens ab eo duxerit virum alterum; numquid reverteretur ad eam ultra? numquid non polluta et contaminata erit mulier illa? Tu autem fornicata es cum amatoribus multis: tamen revertere ad me, dicit Dominus, et ego ſuſcipiam te. Jer. iii. 1.

(*i*) Audite me, domus Jacob, et omne reſiduum domus Iſrael, qui portamini à meo utero, qui geſtamini à mea vulva. Uſque ad ſenectam ego ipſe, et uſque ad canos ego portabo. Ego feci, et ego feram; ego portabo, et ſalvabo. Iſaiah xlvi. 3, 4.

(*k*) Quomodo ſi cui mater blandiatur, ita ego conſolabor vos, et in Jeruſalem conſolabimini. Iſaiah lxvi. 13.

(*l*) Dixit Sion: Dereliquit me Dominus, et Dominus oblitus eſt mei. Numquid obliviſci poteſt mulier infantem ſuum, et non miſereatur filio uteri ſui? Et ſi illa oblita fuerit, ego tamen non obliviſcar tui. Iſaiah xlix. 14, 15.

Though theſe compariſons are vaſtly tender, they yet are not enough ſo, to denote his tenderneſs and ſolicitude for men who ſo little deſerve it. This Sovereign of the univerſe does not diſdain to compare himſelf to a hen, who has her wings perpetually extended, in order to receive her young ones under them; and he declares, that the leaſt of his ſervants is as dear to him as the apple of his eye. "(*m*) O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, thou "that killeſt the prophets, and ſtoneſt them which are "ſent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy "children together, even as a hen gathereth her chick-"ens under her wings, and ye would not!" He himſelf, ſpeaking of his people, ſays thus: "(*n*) He that touch-"eth you, toucheth the apple of my eye."

Hence come theſe expreſſions ſo uſual in ſcripture; and it is ſurpriſing that creatures ſhould dare to uſe them when they ſpeak of God: "(*o*) Keep me as the apple of "thine eye; hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings." To what man, O my God, could I ſpeak in this manner, and to whom could I ſay that I am as precious as the apple of his eyes? But you yourſelf inſpire, and enjoin this confidence. Nothing can be more delicate or weaker than the apple of the eye; and in that reſpect it is the image of myſelf. Be it ſo, O my God, in every thing elſe; and multiply the ſuccours with regard to me, as you have multiplied the precautions with regard to that, by ſecuring it with eye-lids. "Keep me "as the apple of thine eye." My enemies ſurround me like birds of prey, and I cannot eſcape them, if I do not fly for ſhelter to thy boſom. You taught callow birds to withdraw beneath the ſhelter of their mother's wings; and have inſpired mothers with a wonderful care and tenderneſs for their young ones. You have repreſented

(*m*) Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, quæ occidis prophetas, et lapidas eos qui ad te miſſi ſunt: quoties volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos ſuos ſub alas, et noluiſti? Matt. xxiii. 37.

(*n*) Qui retigerit vos, tangit pupillam oculi mei. Zach. ii. 8.

(*o*) Cuſtodi me ut pupillam oculi; ſub umbra alarum tuarum protege me. Pſalm xvii. 8.

repreſented yourſelf in your own works; and have exhorted mankind to have recourſe to you, by all the teſtimonies of your goodneſs, which you have diffuſed in the animals and over nature. Let me preſume, O my God, to put a confidence in thee, proportionate to thy goodneſs for me. "Hide me under the ſhadow of thy "wings."

Nothing can be more affecting than the admirable ſtory of Joſeph; and one can ſcarce refrain from tears, (*p*) when we ſee him obliged to turn aſide in order to dry his own, becauſe his bowels yearned at the preſence of Benjamin; or when, after having diſcovered himſelf, he throws himſelf about the neck of his dear brother; and folding him in the ſtricteſt embrace, mingles his tears with theſe of Benjamin, and diſcovers the ſame affectionate tenderneſs for the reſt of his brethren, over each of whom it is ſaid he wept. At that inſtant, not one of them ſpoke, and this ſilence is infinitely more eloquent than any expreſſions they could have employed. Surprize, grief, the remembrance of what was paſt, joy, gratitude, ſtifle their words: their heart can expreſs itſelf no otherways than by tears, which would, but cannot ſufficiently expreſs their thoughts.

When we read the ſad (*q*) lamentation of Jeremiah over the ruins of Jeruſalem; when we behold that city, once ſo populous, reduced to a dreadful ſolitude; the queen of nations become a diſconſolate widow; the ſtreets

(*p*) Feſtinavitque, quia commota fuerant viſcera ejus ſuper fratre ſuo, et erumpebant lacrymæ. Gen. xliii. 30.

En oculi veſtri, et oculi fratris Benjamin, vident quod os meum loquatur ad vos. Cumque amplexatus recidiſſet in collum Benjamin fratris ſui, flevit, illo quoque ſimiliter flente ſuper collum ejus. Oſculatuſque eſt Joſeph omnes fratres ſuos, et ploravit ſuper ſingulos. Poſt quæ auſi ſunt loqui ad eum. Gen. xlv. 12, 14, 15.

(*q*) Quomodo ſedet ſola civitas plena populo: facta eſt quaſi vidua domina gentium? . . . Viæ Sion lugent, eo quod non ſint qui veniant ad ſolemnitatem. . . . Sacerdotes ejus gementes: virgines ejus ſqualidæ. . . . Sederunt in terra, conticuerunt ſenes filiæ Sion: conſpenſerunt cinere capita ſua, accincti ſunt ciliciis. . . . Parvuli petierunt panem, et non erat qui frangeret eis. Lament. i. 1,—4. ii. 10. iv. 4.

ſtreets of Zion weeping, becauſe no one aſſiſts at its ſolemnities; her prieſts and virgins plunged in bitterneſs, groaning day and night; her old men, covered with ſackcloth and aſhes, ſighing over the ſad ruin of their country; her famiſhed children crying for bread, but without getting any; we are ready to cry out with the prophet, "(r) O that my head were waters, and mine "eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and "night for the ſlain of the daughter of my people!"

It was this deplorable ſtate of Jeruſalem, that made the prophet vent perpetually ſuch warm complaints, ſuch tender prayers as theſe. "(s) Look down from heaven, "and behold from the habitation of thy holineſs, and "of thy glory: Where is thy zeal and thy ſtrength, the "ſounding of thy bowels, and of thy mercies towards "me? Are they reſtrained? . . . (t) But now, O Lord, "thou art our father: we are the clay, and thou our "potter, and we are all the work of thy hand. . . Behold, "ſee, we beſeech thee, we are all thy people. Thy "holy cities are a wilderneſs, Zion is a wilderneſs, Jeru-"ſalem a deſolation. Our holy and our beautiful houſe, "where our fathers praiſed thee, is burnt up with fire: "and all our pleaſant things are laid waſte. Wilt thou "refrain thyſelf for theſe things, O Lord? Wilt thou "hold thy peace, and afflict us very ſore?"

VIII. CHARACTERS.

It is not ſurpriſing that the Spirit of God ſhould have deſcribed, in the ſcriptures, the different characters

(r) Quis dabit capiti meo aquam, et oculis meis fontem lachrymarum: et plorabo die ac nocte interfectos filiæ populi mei. Jer. ix. 1.

(s) Attende de cœlo, et vide de habitaculo ſancto tuo, et gloriæ tuæ. Ubi eſt zelus tuus, et fortitudo tua; multitudo viſcerum tuorum et miſerationum tuarum? ſuper me continuerunt ſe. Iſ. lxiii. 15

(t) Et nunc Domine, pater noſter es tu. . . et fictor noſter tu, et opera manuum tuarum omnes nos. Ecce reſpice, populus tuus omnes nos. Civitas ſancti tui facta eſſe deſerta: Sion deſerta facta eſt: Jeruſalem deſolata eſt. Domus ſanctificationis et gloriæ noſtræ, ubi laudaverunt te patres noſtri, facta eſt in exuſtionem ignis; et omnia deſiderabilia noſtra verſa ſunt in ruinas. Numquid ſuper his continebis te, Domine: tacebis, et affliges nos vehementer? Iſa. lxiv. 8——12.

racters of men in ſuch lively colours. He implanted in our hearts all the rational ſentiments they have; and he knows much better than we do, ſuch as our own degeneracy has added to them.

Who does not at once ſee the ingenuous candour and innocent ſimplicity of childhood, in the (*u*) relation which Joſeph makes to his brethren of thoſe dreams, which were to excite their jealouſy and hatred againſt him, and which really had that effect?

When Joſeph diſcovers himſelf to his family, he ſpeaks a very few words, but then they are the expreſſions of nature itſelf; (*x*) *I am Joſeph; doth my father yet live?* This is one of thoſe ſtrokes of eloquence which are inimitable. Joſephus the hiſtorian was not touched with this beauty, or, at leaſt, did not preſerve it in his relation; for the long diſcourſe he ſubſtitutes for it, though very beautiful, does not ſupply its place.

There is a paſſage in the Acts, which paints in a wonderful, and at the ſame time natural manner, a ſudden and impetuous joy. St. Peter had been thrown into priſon, and miraculouſly releaſed from it; when he came to the houſe of Mary, mother to John, where the faithful were aſſembled in prayer, (*y*) having knocked at the door, a maiden named Rhoda knowing his voice, inſtead of opening it, (ſo great were the tranſports of her joy) ran to the faithful, to tell them that St. Peter was at the door.

Grief, particularly that of a mother, has alſo a peculiar language and character. I do not know whether it would be poſſible to repreſent them better, than we find them in the admirable ſtory of Tobias. As ſoon as this dear ſon was ſet out upon his journey, his mother, who loved him tenderly, was inconſolable for his abſence; and

(*u*) Hæc ergo cauſa ſomniorum atque ſermonum, invidiæ et odii fomitem miniſtravit. Gen. xxxviii. 8.

(*x*) Elevavit vocem cum fletu. . . . et dixit fratribus ſuis, Ego ſum Joſeph, Adhuc pater meus vivit? Gen. xiv. 2, 3.

(*y*) Et ut cognovit vocem Petri, præ gaudio non aperuit januam, ſed intrò currens nunciavit ſtare Petrum ante januam. Act. xii. 14.

and being plunged in the deepeſt ſorrow, ſhe bewailed herſelf inceſſantly; but her affliction was infinitely greater, when ſhe found he did not return at the time appointed: (z) "My ſon is dead, ſeeing he ſtayeth "long; and ſhe began to bewail him and ſaid: "Now I care for nothing, my ſon, ſince I have "let thee go, the light of mine eyes. My ſon is dead: "and ſhe went out every day into the way which they "went, and did eat no meat in the day time, and ceaſed "not whole nights to bewail her ſon Tobias." We may judge of the effect which Tobias's return with Raphael produced. "The dog, who had followed them all the "way, ran before them, and as though he had carried "the news of their arrival, he ſeemed to teſtify his joy "by the motion of his tail, and his careſſes. Tobias's "father, though blind, roſe up, and began to run though "at the hazard of falling every moment; and taking "one of the ſervants by the hand, he ran to meet his ſon. "Being come up to him, he embraced him, and his mo-"ther afterwards, when they began to weep for joy. "Then, afterwards worſhipping God, and returning "him thanks, they ſat down." This is a moſt exquiſitely finiſhed deſcription; and the penman, in order to make it ſtill more natural, did not omit even the circumſtance of the dog, which is entirely natural.

A word which the ambitious Haman happens to let fall, diſcovers the whole ſtate of their ſouls, who abandon themſelves to the inſatiable deſire of honours. He had reached the higheſt point of fortune to which a mortal could attain, and every one bowed the knee to him, except Mordecai. (a) *Yet*, ſays he to his friends in confidence, *all this availeth me nothing, ſo long as I ſee Mordecai the*

(z) Flebat igitur mater ejus irremediabilibus lachrymis, atque dicebat: Heu heu me fili mi, ut quid te miſimus peregrinari, lumen oculorum noſtrorum, baculum ſenectutis noſtræ, ſolatium vitæ noſtræ, ſpem poſteritatis noſtræ? Omnia ſimul in te uno habentes, te non debuimus dimittere à nobis. . . . Illa autem nullo modo conſolari poterat, ſed quotidie exiliens circumſpiciebat, et circuibat vias omnes per quas ſpes remeandi videbatur, ut procul videret eum, ſi fieri poſſet, venientem. Tob. x. 4, 5, 7.

(a) Cum hæc omnia habeam, nihil me habere puto, quandiu videro Mardochæum Judæum ſedentem ante fores regias. Eſth. v. 13.

the Jew ſitting at the king's gate. Mr. Racine did not forget this circumſtance, and has made a very happy uſe of it.

Dans les mains des Perſans jeune enfant apporté,
Je gouverne l'empire où je fus acheté.
Mes richeſſes des rois egalent l'opulence.
Environné d'enfans, ſoutiens de ma puiſſance,
Il ne manque à mon front que le bandeau roial.
Cependant, des mortels aveuglement fatal!
De ces amas d'honneurs la douceur paſſagere
Fait ſur mon cœur à peine une atteinte légere.
Mais Mardocée aſſis aux portes du palais
Dans ce cœur malheureux enfonce mille traits:
Et toute ma grandeur me devient inſipide,
Tandis que le ſoleil éclaire ce perfide.

Engliſhed.

" Brought when an infant into Perſia's ſtate,
" I rule the empire, where I once was ſold.
" The richeſt kings I equal now in wealth;
" And bleſs'd with children who ſupport my pow'r,
" The royal diadem alone I have not.
" And yet what fatal blindneſs governs mortals!
" The tranſient ſweets of all theſe mighty honours
" Convey but little pleaſure to my heart,
" Whilſt Mordecai, that ſits before the gates
" Of the king's palace, racks my tortur'd ſoul:
" And all my grandeur is to me inſipid,
" Whilſt the bright ſun beholds that wretch alive."

I ſhall conclude with a paſſage in ſcripture, where the ſuppreſſion of a ſingle word deſcribes, in a wonderful manner, the character of a perſon whoſe ſoul is ſtrongly fixed on an object. The Spirit of God had revealed to David, that the ark would at laſt have a fixed habitation on Mount Sion, where ſhould be built the only temple he would have in the world. [*a*] This king and prophet, in the higheſt raptures, and in a manner drunk with

[*a*] Repletus Spiritus Sancto civis iſte: et multa de amore at deſiderio civitatis hujus volvens ſecum, tanquam plura intus apud ſe mediatus; erumpit in hoc, FUNDAMENTUM EJUS. S. Auguſt. in Pſalm. lxxxvi.

holy ecſtaſies; without relating what paſſed within himſelf, nor whom he ſpeaks of; and ſuppoſing that the minds of the reſt of mankind, as well as his own, are entirely fixed on God, and on the myſtery which had juſt been revealed to him, cries out; (*b*) "His "foundation is in the holy mountains. The Lord loveth "the gates of Zion, more than all the dwellings of "Jacob." He will therefore change his promiſes no more; and the Lord will no more depart from Iſrael: his habitation will henceforward be fixed among us; his ark will wander no more; his ſanctuary will no longer be uncertain; and Zion ſhall in all ages be the ſeat of his reſt: his foundation is in the holy mountains.

It is from the ſame ſentiments of Joy, that Mary Magdalen, when ſhe was ſeeking Chriſt in the grave, wholly intent upon the object of her love and deſires, imagining it was a gardener ſhe ſaw, ſays to him, without telling him whom ſhe ſpeak of, "Sir, if thou haſt "borne him hence, tell me where thou haſt laid him, "and I will take him away." (*d*) Tranſported, as it were, out of herſelf, by the ardour of her love, ſhe thinks every one ought to think of that perſon whoſe idea poſſeſſes her whole ſoul; and that all muſt know him ſhe is ſeeking.

The Pſalms only would furniſh an infinity of admirable examples in every kind of eloquence: the ſimple, the ſublime, the tender, the vehement, the pathetic ſtile. The reader may peruſe what biſhop Boſſuet has ſaid on this head, in the ſecond chapter of his preface to the Pſalms, entitled, *De grandiloquentia et ſuavitate Pſalmorum*, i. e. *Of the majeſty and ſweetneſs of the Pſalms*. The lively and ſublime genius of that great man is viſible in every part of it. I ſhall quote but one paſſage

(*b*) Fundamenta ejus [*or rather* fundatio ejus, ſedes ejus fundata, firma] in montibus ſanctis. Diligit Dominus portas Sion ſuper omnia tabernacula Jacob. Pſal. lxxxvi. 1, 2.

(*c*) John xx. 15.

(*d*) Vis amoris hoc agere ſolet in animo, ut quem ipſe ſemper cogitat, nullum alium ignorare credat. S. Gregor. Pap.

paſſage from it in this place, which might ſuffice to ſhew, in what manner a taſte of the beauties of the holy ſcripture may be attained: it is that where (*e*) David deſcribes a ſtorm.

" Sit exempli loco illa tempeſtas: *Dixit et adſtitit* " *ſpiritus procellæ: intumuerunt fluctus: aſcendunt uſque* " *ad cœlos, et deſcendunt uſque ad abyſſos.* Sic undæ ſuſque " deque volvuntur. Quid homines? *Turbati ſunt, et moti* " *ſunt ſicut ebrius: et omnis eorum ſapientia abſorpta eſt*; " quam profecto fluctuum animorumque agitationem non " Virgilius, non Homerus, tanta verborum copia æqua- " re potuerunt. Jam tranquillitas quanta; *ſtatuit pro-* " *cellam ejus in auram, et ſiluerunt fluctus ejus.* Quid " enim fauvius, quam mitem in auram deſinens gravis " procellarum tumultus, ac mox ſilentes fluctus poſt " fragorem tantum? Jam, quod noſtris eſt proprium, " majeſtas Dei quanta in hac voce: *Dixit, et procella* " *adſtitit?* Non hic Juno Æolo ſupplex, non hic Nep- " tunus in ventos tumidis exaggeratiſque vocibus ſævi- " ens, atque æſtus iræ ſuæ vix ipſe interim premens. " Uno ac ſimplici juſſu ſtatim omnia peraguntur."

God commands, and the ſea ſwells, and is impetuous: the waves aſcend to the heavens, and deſcend to the depth of the abyſs. God ſpeaks, and with a ſingle word he changes the ſtorm into a gentle breeze, and the tumultuous agitation of the waves into a deep ſilence. How ſtrong! how various are theſe images!

(*e*) Pſal. cvi. 25, &c.

The SONG *of* MOSES, *after his paſſing through the* RED SEA, *explained according to the rules of* RHETORIC.

We owe the explication of this Song to Mr. *Herſan*, formerly Rhetoric profeſſor in the college Du Pleſſis. The reader may juſtly expect ſomething excellent from his name and reputation. We have thought proper to change ſome few things in it, which the author would not diſapprove, were he living.

CANTICUM MOYSIS.

Ver. 1. (a) *CANTEMUS Domino: gloriosè enim magnificatus eſt. Equum et aſcenſorem dejecit in mare.*

(a) Heb. Cantabo.

Ver. 2. *Fortitudo mea et laus mea Dominus, et factus eſt mihi in ſalutem. Iſte Deus meus, et glorificabo eum: Deus patris mei, et exaltabo eum.*

Ver. 3. *Dominus quaſi vir pugnator: Omnipotens, nomen ejus. Heb.* Jehovah, vir belli: Jehovah nomen ejus.

Ver. 4. *Currus Pharaonis et exercitum ejus projecit in mare: electi principes ejus ſubmerſi ſunt in mari rubro.*

Ver. 5.

MOSES's SONG.

Ver. 1. I Will ſing unto the Lord: for he hath triumphed glorioufly; the horſe and his rider hath he thrown into the ſea.

Ver. 2. The Lord is my ſtrength and ſong, and he is become my ſalvation: he is my God, and I will prepare him an habitation: my father's God, and I will exalt him.

Ver. 3. The Lord is a man of war: the Lord is his name.

Ver. 4. Pharaoh's chariots and his hoſt hath he caſt into the ſea; his choſen captains alſo are drowned in the Red ſea.

Ver. 5.

Ver. 5. *Abyſſi operuerunt eos: deſcenderunt in profundum quaſi lapis.*

Ver. 6. *Dextera tua, Domine, magnificata eſt in fortitudine: dextera tua, Domine, percuſſit inimicum.*

Ver. 7. *Et in multitudine gloriæ tuæ depoſuiſti adverſarios tuos. Miſiſti iram tuam,* [b] *quæ devoravit eos ſicut ſtipulam.*

[b] There is not, in the original, either *Quæ* or *Et*, or any other conjunction; the expreſſion is the ſtronger upon that account.

Ver. 8. *Et in ſpiritu furoris tuæ congregatæ ſunt aquæ:* [c] *ſtetit unda fluens:* [d] *congregatæ ſunt abyſſi in medio mari.*

[c] Heb. Steterunt, ſicut acervus, fluenta.

[d] Heb. Coagulatæ ſunt.

Ver. 9. *Dixit inimicus: Perſequar, et comprehendam; dividam ſpolia; implebitur anima mea; evaginabo gladium meum;* [e] *interficiet eos manus mea.*

[e] Heb. poſſidebit, *or* poſſidere faciet.

Ver. 10. [f] *Flavit ſpiritus tuus, et operuit eos mare. Submiſſi ſunt quaſi plumbum in aquis vehementibus.*

[f] Heb. Sufflâſti ſpiritu tuo.

Ver. 11. *Quis ſimilis tui in* [g] *fortibus, Domine, quis ſimi-*

[g] The Hebrew word ſignifies equally *gods* and *ſtrong*.

Ver. 5. The depths have covered them; they ſank into the bottom as a ſtone.

Ver. 6. Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power: thy right hand, O Lord, hath daſhed in pieces the enemy.

Ver. 7. And in the greatneſs of thine excellency thou haſt overthrown them that roſe up againſt thee: thou ſenteſt forth thy wrath, which conſumed them as ſtubble.

Ver. 8. And with the blaſt of thy noſtrils the waters were gathered together: the floods ſtood upright as an heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the ſea.

Ver. 9. The enemy ſaid, I will purſue, I will overtake, I will divide the ſpoil: my luſt ſhall be ſatisfied upon them, I will draw my ſword, mine hand ſhall deſtroy them.

Ver. 10. Thou didſt blow with thy wind, the ſea covered them: they ſank as lead in the mighty waters.

Ver. 11. Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like thee, glo-

ſimilis tui, magnificus in ſanctitate, [g] *terribilis atque laudabilis, faciens mirabilia?*

[g] Heb. Terribilis laudibus.

glorious in holineſs, fearful in praiſes, doing wonders?

Ver. 12. *Extendiſti manum tuam,* [b] *et devoravit eos terra.*

[b] *Et* is not in the Hebrew.

Ver. 12. Thou ſtretchedſt out thy right hand, the earth ſwallowed them.

Ver. 13. *Dux fuiſti in miſericordia tua populo quem redemiſti: et* [i] *portâſti eum in fortitudine tua ad habitaculum ſanctum tuum.*

[i] Heb. deduces.

Ver. 13. Thou in thy mercy haſt led forth the people which thou haſt redeemed: thou haſt guided them in thy ſtrength unto thy holy habitation.

Ver. 14. [k] *Aſcenderunt populi, et irati ſunt: dolores obtinuerunt habitatores Philiſthiim.*

[k] Heb. Audient populi.

Ver. 14. The people ſhall hear and be afraid: ſorrow ſhall take hold on the inhabitants of Paleſtine.

Ver. 15. *Tunc conturbati ſunt principes Edom: robuſtos Moab obtinuit tremor:* [l] *obriguerunt omnes habitatores Chanaan.*

[l] Heb. diſſolventur.

Ver. 15. Then the dukes of Edom ſhall be amazed, the mighty men of Moab, trembling ſhall take hold upon them: all the inhabitants of Canaan ſhall melt away.

Ver. 16. *Irruat ſuper eos formida et pavor: in magnitudine brachii tui, fiant immobiles quaſi lapis, donec pertranſeat populus tuus, Domine, donec pertranſeat populus tuus iſte, quem poſſediſti.*

Ver. 16. Fear and dread ſhall fall upon them; by the greatneſs of thine arm they ſhall be as ſtill as a ſtone: till thy people paſs over, O Lord, till the people paſs over, which thou haſt purchaſed.

Ver. 17. *Introduces eos, et plantabis in monte hæreditatis tuæ, firmiſſimo habitaculo tuo, quod operatus es,*

Ver. 17. Thou ſhalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place,

es, Domine: Sanctuarium tuum, Domine, quod firmaverunt manus tuæ.

place, O Lord, which thou haſt made for thee to dwell in: in the ſanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have eſtabliſhed.

Ver. 18. *Dominus regnabit in æternum, & ultra.*

Ver. 18. The Lord ſhall reign for ever and ever.

Ver. 19. *Ingreſſus eſt enim eques Pharao cum curribus & equitibus ejus in mare; & reduxit ſuper eos Dominus aquas maris: filii autem Iſrael ambulaverunt per ſiccum in medio ejus.*

Ver. 19. For the horſe of Pharaoh went in with his chariots, and with his horſemen, into the ſea; and the Lord brought again the waters of the ſea upon them: but the children of Iſrael went on dry land in the midſt of the ſea.

THE SONG OF MOSES,

Explained according to the RULES *of* RHETORIC.

THIS excellent Song may juſtly be conſidered as one of the moſt eloquent pieces of antiquity. The turn of it is great, the thoughts noble, the ſtile ſublime and magnificent, the expreſſions ſtrong, and the figures bold; every part of it abounds with images that ſtrike the mind and poſſeſs the imagination. This piece, which ſome believe was compoſed by Moſes in Hebrew verſe, ſurpaſſes the moſt beautiful deſcriptions, which the Heathens have given us in this way. Virgil and Horace, though the moſt perfect models of poetical eloquence, have not writ any thing comparable to it. No man can ſet a higher value than I do on thoſe two great poets, and I ſtudied them cloſe, with the utmoſt pleaſure, for ſeveral years. Nevertheleſs, when I read what Virgil wrote in praiſe of Auguſtus, in the beginning

of

of the third book of the [a] Georgics, and at the end of the eighth [b] Æneid; and what he makes the prieſt Evander ſing, in the ſame book, in honour of Hercules; though thoſe paſſages are vaſtly fine, they ſeem grovelling to me in compariſon with the ſong in queſtion [c]. Virgil methinks is all ice, Moſes all fire. The ſame may be affirmed of the fourteenth and fifteenth Odes of the fourth Book, and in the laſt of the Epodes.

A circumſtance which ſeems to favour theſe two poets, and other profane writers, is, that we find in them a cadence, a harmony and elegance of ſtile, which is not to be met with in the ſcriptures. But then we commonly read them in a tranſlation; and it is well known, that the beſt French tranſlators of Cicero, Virgil, and Horace, diſfigure their authors very much. Now, the original language of the ſcripture muſt be vaſtly eloquent, ſince there remains more in the copies of it, than in all the Latin works of ancient Rome, and the Greek ones of Athens. The ſcriptures are cloſe, conciſe, and void of foreign ornaments, which would only weaken their impetuoſity and fire; hate long perambulations, and reach the mark the ſhorteſt way. They love to include a great many thoughts in few words; to introduce them as ſo many ſhafts; and to make thoſe objects ſenſible, which are the moſt remote from the ſenſes, by lively and natural images of them. In a word, the ſcriptures have a greatneſs, ſtrength, energy, and majeſtic ſimplicity, which raiſe them above every thing in the heathen eloquence. If the reader will but give himſelf the trouble to compare the places above cited from Virgil and Horace, with the reflections I ſhall now make, he will ſoon be convinced of the truth of what I ſay.

OCCASION

[a] Ver. 16, 39. [b] Ver. 675, 728. [c] Ver. 287, 302.

Occasion *and* Subject *of the* SONG.

The great miracle which God wrought, when the children of Iſrael paſſed through the Red-Sea. The prophet's view in it is, to indulge himſelf in his tranſports of joy, admiration and gratitude, for this great miracle; to ſing the praiſes of God the Deliverer, to offer up to him public and ſolemn thanks, and to inſpire the people with the ſame ſentiments.

Explication *of the* SONG.

Ver. 1. *CANTEMUS* (Heb. *cantabo*) *Domino: glorioſe enim magnificatus eſt. Equum et aſcenſorem dejecit in mare.* 'I will ſing unto the Lord; 'for he hath triumphed gloriouſly; the horſe and his 'rider hath he thrown into the ſea.'

Moſes, full of admiration, gratitude, and joy, could he poſſibly have better declared the emotions of his heart, than by this impetuous exordium, in which the lively gratitude of the people delivered, and the dreadful greatneſs of God the deliverer, are deſcribed?

This exordium is the bare or ſimple propoſition of the whole piece. It is, as it were, the extract and point of ſight, to which the ſeveral parts of the picture refer. This we muſt carry in our minds, as we read the ſong, to comprehend the artifice with which the prophet draws ſo many beauties, ſo much magnificence, from a propoſition, which at firſt ſight ſeems ſo ſimple and barren.

I will ſing, is much more energetic, more affecting, more tender, than it would be in the plural, *we will ſing*. This victory of the Hebrews over the Egyptians, is not like thoſe common victories which one nation gains over another, and whoſe fruits are general, vague, common, and almoſt imperceptible to every individual. Here every thing is peculiar to every Iſraelite; every thing is perſonal. At this firſt inſtant, every one

one reflects on his own chains which are broken; every one imagines he ſees his cruel maſter drowned; every one is ſenſible of the value of his liberty which is ſecured to him for ever. For it is natural to the heart of man, in extreme danger, to refer every thing to himſelf, and to conſider himſelf as every thing.

The horſe and his rider hath he thrown into the ſea. The ſingular, *the horſe, his rider*, which includes the totality of horſes and riders, is much more energetic than the plural would have been. Beſides, the ſingular denotes much better the eaſe and ſuddenneſs of the drowning. The Egyptian cavalry was numerous, formidable, and covered whole plains. It would have required ſeveral days to have defeated and cut them to pieces; but God defeated them in an inſtant, with a ſingle effort, at a blow. He overthrew, drowned, overwhelmed them all, as though they had been but one horſe, and one rider: *The horſe and his rider hath thrown into the ſea.*

The Lord is my ſtrength and ſong, &c. This is the amplification of the firſt words of the ſong, *I will ſing*. Let us obſerve in what manner this is extended.

Of the ſeveral attributes of God, he praiſes only his ſtrength, becauſe it was by that he had been delivered.

My ſtrength. This figure is energetic, for, *the cauſe of my ſtrength*, which is flat and languid; beſides that *my ſtrength* ſhews that God alone was to the Iſraelites as courage, and diſpenſed with their making any uſe of it.

My ſong. This is the ſame figure, and equally emphatic. He is the only ſubject of my praiſe: no inſtrument divides it with him; neither power, wiſdom, nor human induſtry, can be aſſociated with him: he alone merits all my gratitude, ſince he alone performed, ordained, and executed every thing. *The Lord is my ſong.*

He is become my ſalvation. The writers of the Auguſtan ages would have writ, *hath ſaved me*, but the ſcripture ſays much more. The Lord hath undertaken to perform, himſelf, every thing that was requiſite

quiſite for my ſalvation; he made my ſalvation his own, his perſonal affair; and, what is much more emphatical, *is become my ſalvation.*

He is my God. *He*, is emphatical, and ſignifies much more than it is ſuppoſed to do at firſt ſight. *He*, not the gods of the Egyptians and nations; gods void of ſtrength, ſpeechleſs and lifeleſs; but he who performed ſo many prodigies in Egypt and in our paſſage, he is my God, and him will I glorify.

My God. This *my* may have a double relation, the one to God, the other to the Iſraelites. In the former, God appears to be great, powerful, and a God for me only. Unattentive to the reſt of the univerſe, he is employed wholly on my dangers and on my ſafety; and is ready to ſacrifice all the nations of the earth to my intereſt. In the ſecond relation, *he is my God*; I will never have any other. To him only I conſecrate all my wiſhes, all my deſires, all my confidence. He only is worthy my worſhip and love, and to him only will I for ever pay homage.

My father's God and I will exalt him. This repetition is inexpreſſibly tender. He whoſe grandeur I exalt, is not a ſtrange God, unknown till this day, a protector for a moment, and ready to aſſiſt any other. No; he is the ancient protector of my family: his goodneſs is hereditary. I have a thouſand domeſtic proofs of his conſtant love, perpetuated from father to ſon, down to me. His ancient kindneſſes were ſo many titles and pledges, which aſſured me of the like. He is the God of my father: he is the God who diſplayed himſelf ſo often to Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob. In fine, he is the God who but now fulfilled the mighty promiſes which he had made to my forefathers.

What has he done to effect this? *The Lord is a man of war.* He might have ſaid, as he is the God of armies, he has delivered us from the army of Pharaoh; but this was ſaying too little: He conſiders his God as a ſoldier, as a captain he puts, as it were, the ſword into his hand, and makes him fight for the children of Jacob.

The

The Lord is a man of war; the Lord is his name. In the Hebrew, it is, *Jehovah is a man of war, Jehovah is his name.* Moſes inſiſts upon the word *Jehovah*, the better to ſhew, by this repetition, who this extraordinary warrior is, who has deigned to fight for Iſrael. As though he had ſaid, *Jehovah, the Lord, has appeared like a warrior.* Is what I now ſay well underſtood? Is this miracle comprehended in its full latitude? Yes, I again repeat, It is the ſupreme God in perſon, it is the only God: it is, to ſay all in one word, he who is called (*a*) *Jehovah*, whoſe name is incommunicable, who alone poſſeſſes all the fulneſs of being; he is become the champion of Iſrael. Himſelf has been to them inſtead of ſoldiers. He took upon himſelf the whole weight of the war. (*b*) *The Lord ſhall fight for you, and ye ſhall hold your peace*, ſaid Moſes to the Iſraelites before the battle; as though he had ſaid, You ſhall be ſtill, and not fight.

Ver. 4. and 5. *Pharoah's chariots and his hoſt hath he caſt into the ſea; his choſen captains are alſo drowned in the Red Sea. The depths have covered them, they ſank into the bottom as a ſtone.*

Obſerve the pompous diſplay of all that is contained in theſe two words, *the horſe and his rider.*

1. *Pharoah's chariots.* 2. *His hoſts.* 3. *His choſen captains.* A beautiful gradation.

How wonderful is this amplification! *He caſt into the ſea. They are drowned in the Red ſea. The depths have covered them; they ſank to the bottom as a ſtone:* all this to explain, *He has thrown into the ſea.* We obſerve in theſe words, a ſeries of images, which ſucceed one another, and ſwell by degrees. 1. *He caſt into the ſea.* 2. *They are drowned in the Red Sea. They are drowned*, improves on *He caſt—In the Red Sea*, is a circumſtance which determinates more than ſimply *the ſea.* (The Hebrew has it, in the *ſea Suph.*) One would conclude that Moſes was deſirous of heightening the greatneſs of the

(*a*) Qui eſt.—Ego ſum, qui ſum. (*b*) Exod. xiv. 14.

the power which God exhibited in a ſea which formed part of the Egyptian empire, and which was under the protection of the (*c*) gods of Egypt. 3. *His choſen captains*, the greateſt of Pharaoh's princes: that is to ſay, the proudeſt, and perhaps thoſe who oppoſed with greateſt violence the laws of the God of Iſrael; in a word, thoſe who were moſt able to ſave themſelves from the ſhipwreck, are ſwallowed up like the meaneſt ſoldiers. 4. *The depths have covered them.* What an image is here! They are covered, overwhelmed, vaniſhed for ever. 5. To complete this picture, he concludes with a ſimile, which is, as it were, the ſtroke that animates and points out the whole; *they ſank into the bottom as a ſtone.* Notwithſtanding their pride and haughtineſs, they make no greater reſiſtance to riſe up againſt the arm of God who plunges them, than a ſtone that ſinks to the bottom of the waters.

After this, what ſhould Moſes think, what ſhould he ſay? One of the moſt important rules of rhetoric, and which Cicero never fails to obſerve, is, that after an account of a ſurpriſing action, or even of an extraordinary circumſtance, the writer muſt quit the calm and eaſy air proper to narration, and deliver himſelf with more or leſs impetuoſity, according to the nature of the ſubject; this is commonly done by apoſtrophes, interrogations, exclamations; which figures enliven both the diſcourſe and the hearer. All this Moſes has done inimitably in the ſong before us.

Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power: thy right hand, O Lord, hath daſhed in pieces the enemy.

There are ſeveral things to be obſerved here.

1. Moſes might have ſaid, *God has diſplayed his ſtrength by ſtriking Pharoah.* But how faintly, in how languid a manner would that expreſs ſo great an action! He ſprings towards God, and ſays to him in a kind of enthuſiaſm, *Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious*, &c.

2. He

(*c*) Beelſephon,

2. He might have ſaid, *O Lord, thou haſt diſplayed thy ſtrength*, &c. But this is not ſtrong enough, and does not convey a ſenſible idea to the mind; whereas in the expreſſion of Moſes, we ſee, we diſtinguiſh, as it were, the Almighty's hand, which extends itſelf, and cruſhes the Egyptians. Whence I conclude at once, that the true eloquence is that which perſuades; that it commonly perſuades no other way than by moving; that it moves by things and palpable ideas only; and that, for theſe ſeveral reaſons, no eloquence is ſo perfect as that of the holy ſcriptures, ſince the moſt ſpiritual and metaphyſical things are there repreſented by ſenſible and lively images.

3. *Thy right hand, O Lord, hath daſhed in pieces the enemy.* A moſt beautiful repetition! and very neceſſary to give a ſtronger idea of the power of God's arm. The firſt member of the period, *thy right hand is become glorious in power*, have hinted only at the event in looſe and general terms, the prophet thinks he has not ſaid enough; and to denote the manner of this action, he immediately repeats, *thy right hand hath daſhed in pieces the enemy.* It is the nature of great paſſions, to repeat thoſe circumſtances which foment them, as appears from all the paſſionate places in the beſt authors; and as is ſeen in the ſacred writings, particularly in the Pſalms.

4. *In the greatneſs of thine excellency thou haſt overthrown them that roſe up againſt thee.* So many great beauties are concealed in the original text, that they merit ſome illuſtration.

1. By theſe words, *in the greatneſs of thine excellency*, the ſacred writer would deſcribe the action of a nobleman of figure, who aſſumes a haughty air; who riſes in proportion as an impotent inferior preſumes to riſe againſt him, and is pleaſed to ſink him the lower for that reaſon. The Egyptians looked upon themſelves as very great; they even attacked God himſelf, and aſked with a haughty tone, (*d*) *Who is then the Lord?* But as

(*d*) Exod. v. 2.

as theſe feeble, though inſolent creatures roſe, God roſe alſo, and aſſumed all the elevation of his infinite grandeur, all the height of his ſupreme Majeſty againſt them: (*e*) *The proud he knoweth afar off.* And it is from thence he overthrew his enemies who were ſo full of themſelves, and hurled them, not only againſt the earth, but down into the moſt profound abyſſes of the ſea.

2. *That roſe up againſt* THEE. It was not againſt Iſrael that the Egyptians declared war, but it is You they preſumed to attack; it is You they defied. Our quarrel was yours; it was againſt You they warred; *againſt Thee.* This is a delicate, affecting turn, in order to engage God himſelf in Iſrael's cauſe.

Ver. 7. *Thou ſenteſt forth thy wrath, which conſumed them as ſtubble.*

Ver. 8. *And with the blaſt of thy noſtrils the waters are gathered together; the floods ſtood upright as an heap, and the deeps are congealed in the heart of the ſea.*

Ver. 9. *The enemy ſaid, I will purſue, I will overtake, I will divide the ſpoil; my luſt ſhall be ſatisfied upon them, I will draw my ſword, mine hand ſhall deſtroy them.*

Ver. 10. *Thou didſt blow with thy wind, the ſea covered them; they ſank as lead in the mighty waters.*

Moſes returns to the narration, not as in the fourth and fifth verſes by a mere deſcription, but in continuing his apoſtrophe to God, which gives more paſſion to the relation, and from which the conduct of this ſong ſeems ſuperior to human eloquence. The farther it removes from the ſimple propoſition which ſerves as an exordium to it, the ſtronger are its amplifications.

Thou ſenteſt forth thy wrath. How great is this figure! How noble the expreſſion! The prophet gives action and life to God's anger: he transforms it into an ardent and zealous miniſter, whom the judge

(*e*) Pſal. cxxxviii. 6.

judge ſends calmly from his throne to execute the decrees of his vengeance. When Kings would fight their enemies, they ſtand in need of infantry, cavalry, arms, and a long train of warlike inſtruments; but to God, his wrath alone can puniſh the guilty. *Thou ſenteſt forth thy wrath.* How many things are comprized in two or three words, which leave to the reader the pleaſure of enumerating in his imagination, the fires, the flaſhes of lightning, the thunderbolts, the ſtorms, and all the other inſtruments of this wrath! The beauty of this expreſſion is better felt than expreſt; we find a certain depth in it, a ſomething, which employs and fills the mind. Horace had this figure in view in the expreſſion *Iracunda fulmina*; and Virgil hit upon it in the ingenious compoſition of the thunder, deſcribed in the eighth book of the Æneid.

——*Sonitumque, metumque*
Miſcebant operi, flammiſque ſequacibus iras.

What was then the effect of this dreadful wrath? *It conſumed them as ſtubble.* The ſcripture only can furniſh us with ſuch images. Let us conſider this thought attentively. We ſhall ſee the wrath of God conſuming a prodigious army. Men, horſes, chariots, all are daſhed, conſumed, overwhelmed; how weak are theſe ſynonymous terms! All theſe are conſumed; that would be ſaying all: but the ſimile which follows, finiſhes the picture; for the word *conſume*, gives us the idea of an action that laſts ſome time, but, *as ſtubble*, ſhews an inſtantaneous action. How! ſo mighty an army as this conſumed like ſtubble! The reader ſhould conſider the force of theſe ideas.

But how was this effected? God, by a furious wind, aſſembled the waters, which ſwelled like two mountains in the midſt of the ſea. The children of Iſrael paſſed over it as on dry land; the Egyptians purſuing them into it, were ſwallowed up by the waves. This is a plain and unembelliſhed relation;

tion; but how beautiful, how majeſtic is the turn which is given to it in ſcripture! I ſhould never have done, ſhould I examine them particularly. I am charmed with the whole ſong, but this paſſage tranſports me.

With the blaſt of thy noſtrils the waters are gathered together. The prophet ennobles the wind, by making God himſelf the principle of it; and animates the waters, by repreſenting them ſuſceptible of fear. The better to paint the divine indignation, and its effects, he borrows the image of human wrath, whoſe lively tranſports are accompanied with a precipitated breathing, which cauſes a violent and impetuous blaſt. And when this wrath, in a powerful perſon, directs itſelf towards a fearful populace, it forces them, for their own ſecurity, to give way, and to fall in a tumultuous manner one upon the other. 'Tis thus *with the blaſt of the Lord's noſtrils*; the frighted waters withdrew with impetuoſity from their uſual bed, and crowded ſuddenly one upon the other, in order to give way to this wrath; whereas, the Egyptians, who came in the way of this wrath, were conſumed like ſtubble. We often meet with ſuch a deſcription of the divine wrath in the ſcriptures. (*f*) "The ſea ſaw it and fled.—(*g*) Then "the channels of waters were ſeen, and the foundations of the world were diſcovered, at thy rebuke, O "Lord, at the blaſt of the breath of thy noſtrils.— "(*h*) There went up a ſmoke out of his noſtrils, and "fire out of his mouth devoured; coals were kindled "at it." Are we not to wonder that a wrath like this ſhould overthrow and ſwallow up every thing?

The depths were congealed in the heart of the ſea. That is, the waters were bound up, and frozen like ice. *The depths* give us a much more dreadful idea than *waters*. *In the heart of the ſea:* This circumſtance is very emphatic; it fixes the imagination, and makes us conceive

(*f*) Mare vidit, et fugit. Apparuerunt fontes aquarum ab increpatione tua, Domine, ab inſpiratione ſpiritus iræ tuæ.——Aſcendit fumus in ira ejus, et ignis à facie [Heb. ex oer] ejus exarſit: carbones ſuccenſi ſunt ab eo. Pſal. cxiv. 3.

(*g*) Pſal. xviii 15. (*h*) Ibid. ver. 8.

ceive to ourſelves mountains of ſolid waters in the center of the liquid element.

The two verſes that follow, are inexpreſſibly beautiful. Inſtead of barely ſaying, as was before obſerved, that the Egyptians, by their purſuing the Iſraelites, went into the ſea; the prophet himſelf enters into the heart of thoſe barbarians, puts himſelf in their place, aſſumes their paſſions, and makes them ſpeak; not that they had really ſpoke, but becauſe a thirſt of vengeance and a ſtrong deſire of purſuing the Iſraelites, was the language of their hearts, which Moſes made them utter, in order to vary his narration, and to make it the more ardent.

The enemy ſaid, inſtead of *the Egyptian ſaid.* This ſingular, *the enemy,* how beautiful is every word!

I will purſue, I will overtake, I will divide the ſpoil, &c. We read, and perceive a palpable vengeance in theſe words, as we read them. The ſacred penman has not put a conjunction to any of the ſix words which compoſe the Egyptian ſoldiers diſcourſe, in order to give it the greater ſpirit, and to expreſs more naturally the diſpoſition of a man whoſe ſoul is fired, who diſcourſes with himſelf, and does not mind connecting his words with conjunctions, his thoughts requiring freedom and liberty.

Another writer would have ſtopt here; but Moſes goes farther. *My luſt ſhall be ſatisfied upon them.* He might have ſaid, *I will divide the ſpoil, and I will fill myſelf with them.* But, *my luſt ſhall be ſatisfied upon them,* repreſents them as rioting on ſpoils, and ſwimming in joy.

I will draw my ſword, mine hand ſhall deſtroy them. The Vulgate runs thus: *I will unſheath my ſword, and my hand ſhall kill them.* The reflection that follows, which is very beautiful, ſuppoſes this ſenſe. They are no leſs affected with the pleaſure of killing their enemies, than that of plundering them. Let us ſee how he deſcribes this. He might have ſaid in one word, *I will kill them*; but this would have been too quick; he

he gives them the pleaſure of a long vengeance. I will unſheath my ſword. How great is this image! It even ſtrikes the reader's eye: *Mine hand ſhall deſtroy them.*

This *mine hand*, is inexpreſſibly beautiful. This expreſſion repreſents a ſoldier who is ſure of victory: we ſee him looking about, moving up and down, and ſtretching forth his arm. My fear for the children of Iſrael makes me tremble. Great God! what wilt thou do to ſave them! A numberleſs multitude of Barbarians are furiouſly haſtening to victory and vengeance. Can all the ſhafts of thy wrath check the impetuoſity of thine enemies? The Almighty blows, and the ſea has already ſurrounded them. *Thou didſt blow with the wind, the ſea covered them.*

It muſt be confeſſed, that this reflection is very ſtrong, eloquent, and well adapted to form the taſte, for which reaſon I thought the reader ought not to be deprived of it. But I muſt be obliged to confeſs that the Hebrew text, inſtead of *mine hand ſhall deſtroy them*, has it thus, "Mine hand ſhall again ſubject them to me; my "hand ſhall triumph over them, my hand ſhall again "put me in poſſeſſion" of thoſe fugitives. And indeed, this was the real motive which prompted the Egyptians to purſue the Iſraelites, as the Scriptures manifeſtly declare. (*i*) "And it was told the King of Egypt that the "people fled; and the heart of Pharaoh and of his "ſervants was turned againſt the people; and he ſaid, "Why have we done this, that we have let Iſrael go "from ſerving us?" Pharaoh therefore and his officers did not intend to kill and extirpate the Iſraelites, which would have been againſt their own intereſt, but they deſigned to force them ſword in hand to return into captivity, and work again in the public edifices.

Methinks, there is alſo a great beauty in this expreſſion, *Mine hand ſhall again ſubject them to me.* The God of the Iſraelites had declared, that he would free them from their Egyptian captivity, and deliver

(*i*) Exod. xiv. 5.

deliver them from their hard ſervitude by the ſtrength of his arm. (*k*) 'I will bring you out from under the 'burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of 'their bondage; and I will redeem you with a ſtretched 'out arm.' He had often cauſed Pharaoh to be told, that he would ſtretch out his hand upon him, in his ſervants, in his fields, and his cattle; that he would ſhew him that he was the maſter and the Lord, by ſtretching out his hand over all Egypt, and by reſcuing his people out of their captivity. (*l*) 'The Egyptians 'ſhall know that I am the Lord, when I ſtretch forth 'mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of 'Iſrael from among them.' Here the Egyptian who already fancies himſelf victorious, inſults the God of the Hebrews. He ſeems to reproach him for the weakneſs of his arm, and the emptineſs of his threats; and ſays to himſelf in the drunkenneſs of an inſolent joy, and in the tranſports of a fooliſh confidence, notwithſtanding what the God of Iſrael hath ſaid, 'Mine hand ſhall 'again ſubject them to me.'

16. 'Thou didſt blow with thy wind, the ſea covered 'them, they ſank as lead in the mighty waters.'

'Thou didſt blow with thy wind, the ſea covered 'them.' Could Moſes have poſſibly given us a nobler idea of the power of God? He only blows, and he at once overwhelms a numberleſs multitude of forces. This is the true ſublime. 'Let there be light, and 'there was light:' Can any thing be greater?

'The ſea covered them.' How many ideas are included in four words! How eaſy are the words! But what a crowd of ideas! 'Tis to this paſſage we may apply what Pliny ſays of Timanthus the painter: *In omnibus ejus operibus plus intelligitur, quam pingitur. . .ut oſtendat etiam quæ occultat.*

Any other writer but Moſes would have let his fancy take wing. He would have given us a long detail, and a train of uſeleſs inſipid deſcriptions; he would have exhauſted his ſubject, or impoveriſhed it, and tired the reader,

(*k*) Ibid. vi. 6. Ibid. ix. 3, 15. (*l*) Exod. vii. 5.

reader, by an empty pomp of words, and a barren abundance. But here God blows, the ſea obeys, it pours upon the Egyptians, they are all ſwallowed up. Was ever deſcription ſo full, ſo lively, ſo ſtrong as this! There is no interval between God's blowing and the dreadful miracle he performs, in order to ſave his people. 'Thou didſt blow with thy wind, the ſea covered 'them.'

'They ſank as lead in the mighty waters.' Reflect attentively on this laſt ſtroke, which aſſiſts the imagination, and finiſhes the picture.

Ver. 11. 'Who is like unto thee, O Lord, amongſt 'the gods? Who is like unto thee, glorious in holineſs, 'fearful in praiſes, doing wonders? 12. Thou ſtretcheſt 'out thy right hand, the earth ſwallowed them.'

To the wonderful relation above mentioned, ſucceeds a wonderful expreſſion of praiſe. The greatneſs of this miracle required this vivacity of ſentiment and gratitude. And how, indeed, could it be poſſible for the writer not to be tranſported, and, as it were, out of himſelf, at the ſight of ſuch a wonder? He employs the interrogation, the compariſon, the repetition; all which figures are naturally expreſſive of admiration and rapture.

'Glorious in holineſs, &c.' It is impoſſible to imitate the lively, conciſe ſtile of the text, which is compoſed of three little members, detached from each other, without a copulative, and of which each conſiſts of two or three words ſhort enough, 'Glorious in holineſs, fear-'ful in praiſes, doing wonders.' It is as difficult to render the ſenſe of it, how diffuſive ſoever the verſion may be made, which beſides makes it flat and languid, whereas the Hebrew is full of fire and vivacity.

Ver. 13. 'Thou in thy mercy haſt led forth the peo-'ple .... thou haſt guided them in thy ſtrength unto 'thy holy habitation, &c.

This, and the four following verſes, are a prophetic declaration of the glorious protection which God was to grant his people after having brought them

out of Egypt. They abound every where with the ſtrongeſt and moſt affecting images. The reader does not know which to admire moſt; (*o*) God's tenderneſs for his people, whoſe guide and conductor he himſelf will be, by preſerving them during the whole journey, like the apple of his eye, as he declares in another place; and carrying them on his ſhoulders, as an eagle bears her young ones: or his formidable power, which, cauſing terror and dread to walk before it, freezes, with fear, all ſuch nations as ſhould preſume to oppoſe the paſſage of the Iſraelites through the Red Sea, and ſtrikes thoſe nations ſo, that they become motionleſs as a ſtone: or, laſtly, God's wonderful care, to ſettle them in a fixed and permanent manner in the promiſed land, or rather to plant them in it: 'Thou ſhalt plant them in 'the mountain of thine inheritance;' an emphatic expreſſion, and which alone recals all that the Scriptures obſerve in ſo many places, of the care which God had taken to plant this beloved vine; to water it, incloſe it with fences, and to multiply and extend its fruitful branches to a great diſtance.

Ver. 18, 19. 'The Lord ſhall reign for ever and ever. 'For the horſe of Pharaoh went in with his chariots, and 'with his horſemen into the ſea, and the Lord brought 'again the waters of the ſea upon them; but the children 'of Iſrael went on dry land in the midſt of the ſea.'

This concludes the whole ſong, by which Moſes promiſes God, in the name of all the people, to bear eternally in their minds the ſignal delivery which God had wrought in their favour.

Poſſibly this concluſion may appear too ſimple, when compared to the verſes which go before it. But methinks there is as much art in this ſimplicity, as in the reſt of the ſong. And indeed, after Moſes had moved and raiſed the minds of the people by ſo many great expreſſions and violent figures, it was proper, and agreeable to the rules of rhetoric, to end his ſong

(*o*) Deut. xxxii. 10, 11.

ſong with a plain, ſimple expoſition, not only to unbend the minds of his hearers, but alſo to give them an idea, without employing figures, turns, or a pomp of words, of the greatneſs of this miracle which God had juſt before wrought in their favour.

The delivery of the Jewiſh people out of Egypt, is the moſt wonderful prodigy we read of in the old Teſtament. God mentions it a thouſand times in the ſcriptures; he ſpeaks of it, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, with a kind of complacency; he relates it as the moſt ſhining proof of the ſtrength of his all-powerful arm. And indeed, it is not a ſingle prodigy, but a long ſeries of prodigies, each more wonderful than the other. It was fit that the beauty of a ſong, which was written to perpetuate the remembrance of this miracle, ſhould equal the greatneſs of the ſubject: and it was impoſſible but this ſhould do ſo, as the ſame God who wrought thoſe wonders, dictated alſo the ſong.

But what beauty, grandeur and magnificence ſhould we diſcover in it, were we permitted to pierce the myſterious ſenſe which is concealed beneath the veil of this great event? For it muſt be allowed, that this delivery out of Egypt, covers and repreſents other deliverances. (*p*) The authority of St. Paul, that of all tradition, and the prayers of the church, oblige us to conſider it as a type of the freedom which the Chriſtian obtains by the waters of baptiſm, and his delivery from the yoke of the prince of this world. The Revelations mention another uſe of this delivery, by ſhewing thoſe, who have overcome the beaſt, holding the harps of God in their hands, and ſinging the ſong of Moſes, the ſervant of God, and the ſong of the Lamb, ſaying, (*q*) *Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty,* &c.

Now as the ſcriptures declare, that the wonders of the ſecond deliverance will ſurpaſs infinitely thoſe of the firſt, and will entirely blot out the remembrance of it; we may believe, that the beauties of the

(*p*) 1 Cor. xi. 10. (*q*) Rev. xv. 3.

the ſpiritual ſenſe of this ſong would quite eclipſe thoſe of the hiſtorical ſenſe.

But I am far from being able to diſplay theſe wonders; and indeed, that does not ſuit the deſign of this work, wherein my view was, to form the taſte of youth in matters of eloquence. This explication of Moſes's ſong, may conduce more to that end than any thing elſe; and I believed therefore, that it would be agreeable to the public. The author's modeſty had buried it, as it were, in obſcurity, and therefore the reader will not be diſpleaſed, to find it publiſhed by his ſcholar, as a teſtimony of the gratitude he owes to ſo excellent a maſter. He not only bore this character with regard to me, but likewiſe that of a father, having always loved me as a ſon. Mr. Herſan took the utmoſt care of me whilſt I was under his tuition, deſigning me, even at that time, for his ſucceſſor; and indeed, I was ſo in the ſecond claſs, in rhetoric, and in the royal college. I may aſſert without flattery, that no man was ever more capable than this gentleman, to point out and illuſtrate the beautiful paſſages in authors, or to raiſe an emulation in youth. The funeral oration of the chancellor Le Tellier, which Mr. Herſan delivered in the Sorbonne, and which is the only piece of his in proſe, which he ſuffered to be printed, is ſufficient to ſhew the exquiſite delicacy of his taſte: and his verſes which are publiſhed, may be conſidered as ſo many ſtandards in their kind. But then he was much more valuable for his virtues, than for his genius. Goodneſs, ſimplicity, (*r*) modeſty, diſintereſtedneſs, a contempt for riches, a generoſity carried almoſt to exceſs; ſuch were his qualities. He made no other advantage of the entire confidence which a powerful (*s*) miniſter repoſed in him, than to do good to others. As ſoon as I was choſen principal of the college

(*r*) He would never ſuffer himſelf to be elected Rector (Principal) of the univerſity.

(*s*) Mr. de Louvois.

college of Beauvais, he devoted for my ſake, and from his love to the public, two thouſand crowns to be laid out in ſuch repairs and embelliſhments as were wanting there. But the laſt years of his life, though ſpent in obſcurity and retirement, have obſcured all the reſt. He withdrew to Compeigne his native place. There, ſecluded from company, wholly employed in the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, which had always been his delight; meditating perpetually on (*t*) death and eternity, he devoted himſelf entirely to the ſervice of the poor children of the city. He built a ſchool for their uſe, and it is perhaps the fineſt in the kingdom, and left a ſtipend for a maſter. He himſelf taught them very often, and generally had ſome of them at his table. He clothed ſeveral of them; diſtributed rewards from time to time among them, in order to encourage them to ſtudy; and his greateſt conſolation was, to think, that after his death, thoſe children would offer up the ſame prayer for him, that the famous Gerſon, when he condeſcended to teach ſchool in Lyons, had deſired, by his laſt will, of thoſe he had taught: *My God, my Creator, have pity on your poor ſervant John Gerſon.* He had the happineſs to die poor, in ſome meaſure, in the midſt of the poor, having ſcarce enough left for a laſt foundation of the *ſiſters of charity* for the inſtruction of girls, and to take care of the ſick. I hope the reader will pardon this digreſſion, ſince the ſole motive of it is, to expreſs my gratitude for a maſter to whom I have ſo many obligations.

(*t*) He publiſhed a collection of the extracts he had made on this ſubject, entitled, *Edifying meditations upon death, taken from the words of ſcripture and of the fathers.*

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